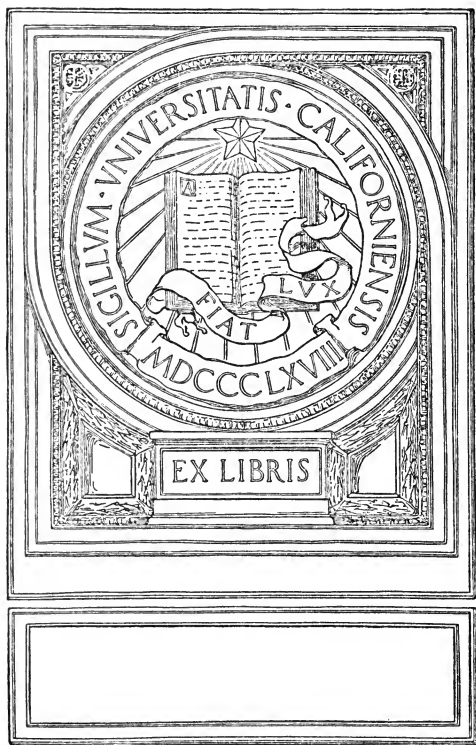
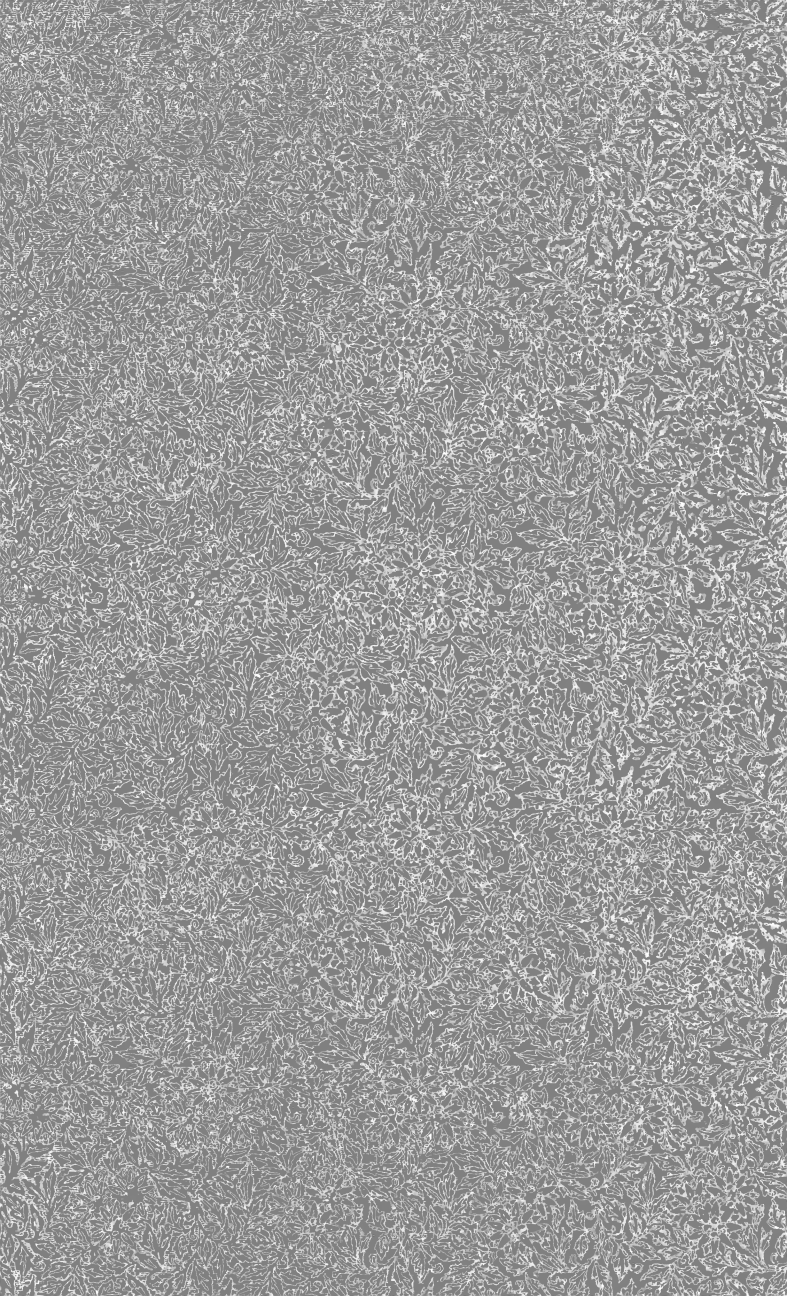


LIFE  
OF  
CHARLES S. PARNELL  
M.P.









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Figure 1 shows a 10x10 grid of 100 small squares. Each square contains a single digit from 0 to 9. The digits are arranged in a pattern that resembles a stylized '10' or '01' shape. The top row contains mostly 0s, and the bottom row contains mostly 1s. The middle rows contain a mix of digits, with some squares being empty or containing a single digit.



*Chas. S. Ormell*

THE  
LIFE AND TIMES

OF

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

CONTAINING A

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF HIS ANCESTRY, BIRTH,  
AND EARLY TRAINING.

JOINS THE HOME RULE LEAGUE, FIRST APPEARANCE ON THE POLITICAL  
STAGE, THE MEATH ELECTION AND HIS ENTRY INTO PARLIMENT,  
ALLIES HIMSELF WITH JOE BIGGAR AND INAUGURATES THE  
"OBSTRUCTION" CAMPAIGN, HIS VISIT TO THE UNITED  
STATES AS THE BEARER OF THE NATIONAL ADDRESS,  
ADDRESSES THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTA-  
TIVES, RETURNS AND

IS ELECTED FOR CORK CITY,

PASSING OF THE LAND BILL, FIGHT AGAINST COERCION AND EXPULSION OF  
THE IRISH MEMBERS, SUPPRESSION OF THE LAND LEAGUE AND IMPRISON-  
MENT OF MR. PARNELL AND OTHER LEADERS, THE "NO RENT"  
MANIFESTO, THE KILMAINHAM TREATY, PHOENIX PARK TRAGEDY  
AND THE REPRESSION ACT, THE ARREARS ACT, THE LABORERS  
DWELLINGS ACT, DEFEAT OF THE LIBERAL MINISTRY, GEN-  
ERAL ELECTION AND TRIUMPH OF THE NATIONAL PARTY,  
THE "THREE ACRES AND A COW," OVERTHROW OF THE  
TORY ADMINISTRATION, INTRODUCTION OF HOME  
RULE BY GLADSTONE. HIS GREAT SPEECH,  
DIVISION ON THE HOME RULE BILL  
JUNE 7th, 1886.

BY

THOMAS SHERLOCK AND J. S. MAHONEY.

*ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS OF THE PROMINENT IRISH  
MEMBERS OF PARLIMENT.*

NEW YORK:  
MURPHY AND McCARTHY,

27 WARREN STREET.

TO VIND  
AIRBORNE

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P255

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THE LIFE  
OF  
CHARLES STEWART PARNELL, M.P.

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BEFORE sketching the career of Mr. Parnell from his birth to the present hour, we deem it proper to give some account of the sources whence he sprang. It will be found that on the maternal as well as on the paternal side he had a distinguished ancestry; the former being as noted for honest, hearty hate of English oppression and love of domination as the latter for sincere and practical Irish patriotism.

The story we have to tell must naturally possess a powerful interest for the Irish people; but even if Charles Stewart Parnell were not so endeared to them as he is, the record would have intrinsically a strong attraction for every reader, for it deals with a number of people eminent or illustrious in their day, some of whom played leading parts on the world's great stage, and some, again, about whose lives there is all the brilliancy of romance. In this latter category stands the Irish-American Admiral Stewart, whose daring and successful exploits on the ocean, in especial against the British in the war of 1812, were extraordinary, and whose splendid

career will be traced with considerable fulness of detail in a subsequent paper. Another of Mr. Parnell's maternal ancestors, Judge Tudor, took a stern part against the British in the American war of independence ; so that we have the interesting fact that the gallant member for Meath has in his veins the blood of men who fought against England in the two wars between that country and the United States. We may add here that the facts we shall set down will be drawn from authentic sources, many of which are not generally available.

Beginning with the Parnells, we must say at the outset that they were originally an English family, settled for many centuries in the neighborhood of Congleton in Cheshire. Whatever English prejudices concerning Ireland they may have had at first they soon lost ; the English sympathies they must have brought with them in the beginning grew more and more modified as generation after generation intermarried in Ireland, until at length the family obtained renown for its Irish patriotism.

Strange it is, but true, that many of our most honored patriots of the past—the men whose memory the Irish people will ever cherish and reverence—sprang originally from the alien race. They saw the great mass of the people ground into powder, and at the same time cut off from their natural leaders by the infamous penal laws ;



and with generous hearts aflame with indignation they sprang to the front, and thought, wrote, spoke, fought, and died in the effort to right Ireland's wrongs. So we had Tones and Emmets, Sheareses and Fitzgeralds, leading the people, when O'Briens and MacCarthys, Kavanaghs and O'Neills were hidden away in enforced obscurity. Times have changed since then, and numbers of men of the old race have taken and are taking the part that befits them in the front rank of our political life; but deep down in Ireland's grateful heart—rooted, fixed, immovable—is the passionate recollection of services rendered and sacrifices made in her cause by so many whose ancestors of a few generations before were as English as the towers of Windsor Castle. Never again will it be possible to create disunion, as in former days, between "the old Irish" and "the new Irish." The unalterable creed of our people is the creed so well preached by Thomas Davis:—

“Yet start not, Irish-born man—  
If you're to Ireland true,  
We heed not blood, nor creed, nor clan—  
We have no curse for you.

“And oh! it were a gallant deed  
To show before mankind  
How every race and every creed  
Might be by love combined—  
Might be combined, yet not forget  
The fountains whence they rose  
As filled by many a rivulet  
The stately Shannon flows.”

The founder of the Parnell family in Ireland was one Thomas, who came over from Cheshire about the time of the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to the British throne in the person of Charles the Second.

Thomas Parnell bought an estate in the Queen's County, and so came by it in an honest way than three-fourths of the ancestors of the present landed proprietors of Ireland. He thrived on this estate; his affairs prospered; and he gave an excellent education to his two sons, John and Thomas, whom he respectively devoted to law and the Church.

John, the younger, who finally came into the family estates, both in Ireland and England, was a man of ability and prominence in his day. He attained a seat in the Court of Queen's Bench, and died, leaving behind him accumulated property.

The parson was also a man of much ability, and enjoyed, not only in his own day, but even up to a generation ago, considerable renown as a poet. He was also a scholar and a wit. He was born in Dublin in 1669, and educated at Trinity College, where he took his degree of M. A. in 1700. Three years afterwards he was ordained; and in 1705 he received the appointment of Archdeacon of Clogher. But his predilections leaned more towards literary work than to ministerial duties, and he preferred to mingle with Swift and Addison, Steele, Congreve, and Pope, in the warm

London coffee-houses, than to mumble through written-out homilies in the cold church of Clogher. Some excuse may be found for him, however ; for, although he was probably never reduced to the extremity of his friend Dean Swift at Laracor, when, unable truthfully to begin his sermon with the formal "Dearly beloved brethren," he commenced his address to his sole listener, the parish clerk, with the famous "Dearly beloved Roger," Parson Parnell's congregation must of necessity have been scanty. So in London he spent much of his time, writing poems of a highly moral tendency, as befitted a preacher of the Gospel, occasionally trying his hand at prose, but more often revelling in the enjoyment of the brilliant conversation of the wits with whom he mixed.

His wife, a lady celebrated both for her beauty and her amiability, died after a union with him of but seven years. He never recovered from the blow. Thenceforth, to the end of his own life, he was subject to fits of despondency, and generally shunned the gay society in which formerly he had taken such keen delight. Dean Swift obtained for him the living of Finglas, near Dublin, and so added another to the literary attractions and memories which, through Steele, Addison, Tickell, Sheridan, Delany, and Swift himself, surround the neighborhood of the old hamlet of Glasnevin.

Dr. Thomas Parnell died at a comparatively early age, on his way from London to Ireland, in

the ancient city of Chester, in 1717. His remains were interred in one of the churches of the place of his death. He was only in his thirty-eighth year, and had survived his wife but for half a decade. He had issue; but his branch of the Parnell family soon died out. Among his prose works was the "Life of Homer" which was prefixed to the poet Pope's translation of the Iliad. Pope held Parnell in high honor, and after his death edited an edition of his poems. Other poets joined in applauding him. Oliver Goldsmith wrote of him that "his language is the language of life, conveying the warmest thoughts in the simplest expressions." The Scotch poet, Campbell, still more laudatory, says of Parnell's poetry that "its compass is not extensive, but its tone is peculiarly delightful, from the graceful and reserved sensibility that accompanied his polished phraseology." And he adds: "The studied happiness of his diction does not spoil its simplicity. His poetry is like a flower that has been trained and planted by the skill of the gardener, but which preserves, in its cultured state, the natural fragrance of its milder air." Even Dr. Johnson joined in the chorus of praise, saying of Parnell that "he is sprightly without effort, and always delights, though he never ravishes;" and further observes concerning some of his poems: "It is impossible to say whether they are the productions of nature so excellent as not to want the

help of art, or of art so refined as to resemble nature." With this brief notice we must be content to part from the one bard of the Parnell family.

John, the judge, was more fortunate with regard to posterity than his brother. He left behind him a son — another John — from whom descended a line of illustrious men. First there was this latter John, who sat in the Irish House of Commons as member for Maryborough for several successive Parliaments. He is described as "a man of great integrity and most amiable character." The "great integrity" was undoubtedly hereditary in the family, as we shall see; the "amiability" has descended too, with this difference — that it is not unvarying or unalterable, but is at times considered very much out of place, more especially in the British House of Commons.

John, the judge, had settled at Rathleague in Queen's County; and, as previously intimated, had left his son a man of good estate. This latter, the member for Maryborough, married in 1744 into a family which, if names are to be relied on, must have been of tolerably pure Gaelic blood. His spouse was Anne Ward, daughter of Michael Ward, of Castle Ward, county Down. Those Wards were by no means ashamed of their Irish name, as is proved by the fact that they bestowed it on their residence. The Wards of Castle Ward were people of consequence in their

day ; a brother of Mrs. Anne Parnell having been created Lord Bangor. Her husband, too, — the “man of great integrity” — must have been a man of ability also, and have “done the State some service,” for we find that he was created a baronet in the year 1766, and was thenceforth entitled to be addressed as “Sir John.”

Sir John had a son, also christened John, concerning whom more must be said than of his father. While the father sat as member for Maryborough, the son entered the House of Commons in Collegegreen as member for Bangor. Both, in fact, were striving together to serve their country in a public capacity — and by this time the Parnells had learned to think no country in the world as theirs but Ireland.

The son was a remarkable man. He had a genuine talent for business ; and as the circumstances of the family forbade its exercise in the paths of commerce, he gave the full benefit of it to his land. In public speaking he never attempted to be rhetorical ; at a time when Irish Parliamentary orators sought after brilliant periods and pointed epigrams and flashing images, this John Parnell, of whom we now speak, was content to say out his thoughts plainly, without straining after ornament. Wholly unaffected in feeling, he was satisfied with “correct language and a delivery close to his subject ;” and indeed seems to have concerned himself more with the

matter than the manner of his speeches — to have been more solicitous to have something weighty to say than as to the way in which he said it. He is described as being a man of "blunt honesty, a strong discriminating mind, and good talents."

His father — the "man of great integrity" — died in the year of the declaration of the independence of the Irish Parliament, 1782, and left him in turn "Sir John." This second Sir John was colonel of a regiment of the famous Volunteers of '82, and at a very early stage of the movement for independence both himself and his corps adopted it zealously and strenuously. He clung to it without swerving till his last breath, though he had the misfortune to live to see the unforgivable crime of the Union accomplished. After the death of his father he became member for Queen's County, for which he was elected again and again until the extinction of the native Parliament in which he had labored so long and so honestly.

From an early period of his career he was selected for the holding of office. In 1780, while yet plain John Parnell, he was appointed a commissioner of the revenue; he was made a privy councillor in 1786; and in 1787, when the Right Honorable John Foster — another firm opponent of the Union — vacated the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer to take up that of Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, Sir John Parnell succeeded him in the Chancellorship. In this posi-

tion he took an honest, independent part as a member of the Ministry, and devoted himself with zeal to the furthering of practical measures to forward the prosperity of his native land. He lightened the burden of taxation on the people; he limited the pension list so that the Government were hampered in buying disgraceful political service at the expense of the country; he secured a favorable commercial treaty with France to the great advantage of Irish trade; and he promoted the canal system at home for the better development of our industrial resources — very creditable work indeed for the eleven years during which he held the seals of the Chancellorship.

He seems to have been so immersed in his useful projects as not to have given requisite care to the consideration of the larger and wider political principles which were then being enunciated in Ireland. Fatal fault! Reform would have saved our Parliament, yet Sir John Parnell continued to hold his position in the Ministry that refused Reform, he dreaming, apparently, that inattention to the question could never surely pave the way for the overthrow of the native legislature he so highly prized. He was destined to a rude awakening.

After the collapse of '98, when the country lay bleeding, bound, and helpless at the feet of wicked, rampant, and unscrupulous power, Sir John Parnell was sent for, and the project of the Union broached to him. His advice, forsooth, on the



question was first requested. He gave it promptly — gave it firmly — gave it inflexibly. It would be a ruinous measure for Ireland.

The villain Castlereagh was much concerned at Sir John's attitude. His personal influence in the House of Commons was great, on account of his admitted honesty, judgment, and talents. His secession from the Ministry would of necessity weaken it. Besides, he represented at least two unpurchasable votes; for, having married early in life a daughter of the Right Hon. Arthur Brooke, he had now a son, Henry, standing beside him on the floor of the House as member for Maryborough, and possessed of as much integrity and firmness of purpose as any of his predecessors. Castlereagh was at length reduced to his last shift with Sir John Parnell, who was left the option of "revising his opinions" with regard to the destruction of the Irish Parliament, or relinquishing his post with its honors and emoluments, and the certain prospect of elevation to the peerage — the post, too, in which he had already been enabled to do so much for the good of his fellow-countrymen.

It was not in the nature of Sir John Parnell to hesitate before such a choice. He honestly believed a free legislature to be necessary for Ireland's weal, so he abandoned his office, turned his back on its advantages, crossed the floor of the House, and flung himself into the ranks of the patriotic Oppo-

sition, where in the debates on the Union question he did effective service.

Sir John Parnell's constituents of Queen's County presented him with an address approving of his conduct. The address was dated the 18th January, 1799, and was signed on behalf of the electors by the high sheriff of the county. In it they remarked that although he had been a member of the Ministry they had such unbounded confidence in his honor that they did not hesitate to elect him three times in succession, and that now he had proved to them that that confidence was justified. In his reply he promised to continue his opposition to the Union project "as a measure which seems to me more likely to endanger than to give strength to the State"—the State that was in his thoughts being Ireland of course. He declined to allow any weight to the arguments in favor of the Union frequently advanced from the legislative union between Scotland and England. He admitted no analogy between the cases. "Scotland," he said, "in respect to its commerce, was sure of advantages, and did not then risk an extensive trade such as Ireland possesses."

The merchants and traders of Dublin city—most of them Orangemen, be it remembered—were delighted with his spirited behavior; and they too approached him with a highly complimentary address, in which they alluded to his expulsion from the Ministry. In reply to them he

said with quiet dignity: "As to my personal situation I acquiesce under it without any adverse feeling. The regards of the most respectable and the most honorable members of the community are a better foundation of honest pride than rank and emolument."

The Maryborough yeomanry, of which he was captain, "added their tribute of respect and congratulation," and presented him with a sword of honor, "as a testimony," they said, "of your dignified and independent principles and conduct." He told them in return that he would be proud to wear that sword in defence of their king, "and of his kingdom of Ireland."

To the last Sir John Parnell and his son Henry actively opposed the Union, both in the House of Commons and elsewhere. Others who began on their side of the question grew weak and accepted bribes, either in place, pension or title, until the farce of carrying the odious measure by a purchased majority was gone through in 1800. But, whoever might waver, the two Parnells would not. They stood firm and unbending to the end, untempted by the golden showers rained from the Treasury, unallured by the coronet that would gladly have been offered as the wages of degradation — indeed as a cheap recompense for their betrayal of their country.

Sir Jonah Barrington contributes the following testimony to Sir John Parnell's character, and it

is all the higher when we remember how at that period politicians of all shades, both in England and Ireland, strove to divert as much as possible of the public revenue into the pockets of themselves or their relations: "Though many years in possession of high office and extensive patronage, he showed a disinterestedness almost unparalleled; and the name of a relative or a dependent of his own scarcely in a single instance increased the place or the pension lists of Ireland." In Grattan's Life his character is described thus: "An honest, straightforward, independent man, possessed of considerable ability and much public spirit; . . . amiable in private, mild in disposition, but firm in mind and purpose."

After the Union Sir John was sent to the London House of Commons by his old constituency, the electors of the Queen's County. But he did not long survive his country's Parliament. Death seized him, without much warning, on the 5th December, 1801, in London. He was succeeded in the title and estates by his son, Henry, whose career was also a very distinguished one, and highly honoring to himself. He entered the British Parliament as member for the Queen's County in 1802, and while there was always the staunch friend of the oppressed Catholics.

All the members returned to the London Parliament from Ireland—even those who had been most devoted to their native legislature, and who

had striven hardest against its extinction—accepted in quiet their new position. Grattan himself, though he advised his countrymen to “keep knocking at the Union” in the hope of demolishing it, never dreamt that the place where the hardest knocks of all could be given was in the London Parliament itself. It never occurred to him that by using his great powers towards the hampering of every proceeding of that institution he could offer to the British only a choice between the disintegration of their own legislature, or the restoration of the Irish one. Yet nothing seems more likely than that if the Irish representation as a whole had behaved, from the very beginning in 1801, as a foreign substance introduced into the imperial body, rankling in it more and more as time went on, straitening it in its every action, making it feel sore at every movement, the British would very soon have been heartily sick of the Union, and been glad to submit to the one operation that alone would relieve them from the inflaming foreign substance. Of course, in following this line, the Irish members, to be successful, should have acted with prudence as well as firmness, and, while availing themselves of every Parliamentary privilege, should have been careful to keep well within Parliamentary rules; but want either of tact or of courage was not characteristic of the Irish gentlemen of the beginning of the present century, unless the records of the

time misrepresent them much. Indeed, it required no greater degree of those qualities to be generally antagonistic and troublesome than it did to face, on numerous special occasions, the angry demon of English bigotry on the Catholic question; yet several Irish members did so face it, and among them one of the foremost was Sir Henry Parnell.

Sir Henry Parnell's instincts and convictions were all towards liberal ideas. From a very early period of his career he espoused the cause of his downtrodden Catholic countrymen with the ardor and honesty of his family. His pen as well as his voice he laboriously exerted in their behalf. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the beneficial effect on the cause of Emancipation, produced by his "History of the Penal Laws" and his "Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics." A Protestant himself, and one whose honor and disinterestedness were beyond question by even the most malignant bigot, his powerful arrays of facts supporting his strong arguments must have converted many a sturdy but honest foe into a friend of the Catholic claims. In the British House of Commons also, he took every opportunity of speaking on behalf of his Catholic countrymen's rights. He was the constant ally of Grattan and Plunket in the many debates raised from time to time on the Catholic question in that House. Every one knows that it was the mass of the Irish

people under O'Connell, who in the end overthrew the stronghold of British bigotry; yet sight should not be lost of the fact that the three Irish Protestants just named, in conjunction with some others and some liberal-minded English ones, made the first sharp assaults, took the formidable outworks, and undermined the massive walls. Though the details of their efforts be not now generally remembered—though, in fact, there be tens of thousands in Ireland who have never even heard of their endeavors—one remarkable consequence of those and like generous efforts unalterably remains. There is no office of trust or honor in the gift of Irish Catholics to which an Irish Protestant may not aspire, in the full confidence that it will be given to him as freely as if he worshipped in the same temple as they, provided only that he show himself a true Irishman.

One particular hardship pertaining to the lot of Irish Catholics excited Sir Henry Parnell's deepest pity for the victims, and his warmest indignation against the intolerable oppression—the tithe system. Pressed to the very earth by the exactions of his landlord—often reduced, after all his unending toil from year's end to year's end, to subsist on a scanty portion of the humblest fare, to live in a hovel not a whit better than a pigsty, and to clothe himself in a raiment of tatters such as the ragman would not touch with his crook, much less put into his bag—the

peasant had still to support in idleness and luxury the parson whose ministrations he utterly rejected, and whose teachings he declined without thanks. The parson, on his part, sought his "tithes" much as a wolf seeks its prey, and commonly seemed to take a fiendish pleasure in adding every circumstance of aggravation to the collection of the hateful impost. Sir Henry Parnell beheld all this, and his heart was wrung with compassion, his soul was moved with righteous wrath. With pains and labor he gathered revolting instances of the shocking oppressiveness of the tithe exaction, and brought them before the British House of Commons. He exposed the rapacity of numerous clergymen of the established Church in regard to tithes; held up to public execration the diabolical ingenuity which, by the addition of legal costs, ran up the sum for which the peasant was liable to five or six times its original amount; he showed the monstrosity of having the tithe-claimers themselves the judges of their own cases against the peasantry in "the bishop's court;" and denounced the glaring wickedness of parsons like the one who distrained five sheep from a farmer for a tithe of five shillings, and bought them in himself afterwards, under the distress, for a shilling apiece. As with Emancipation, so with tithes—it was the Irish people themselves who overturned the abominable system at last; but the task was ren-



dered easier for them by Sir Henry Parnell; his battering rams had shaken the citadel of iniquity to its foundations, and but that it was buttressed by the combined aristocratic and ecclesiastic power of England it must have fallen before their shocks.

Both before and after Emancipation Sir Henry was in general politics what used to be called a Radical. Taught, probably, by his experience of the Irish Parliament, he was devoted to reform of the English one. He lived to become a peer of Great Britain; but all his life he was heart and soul a democrat. He was one of the men who are said to be in advance of their time, but whose life-labors are nevertheless fruitful for those who come after them. Among the projects he advocated in the British House of Commons were the abolition of all laws restricting either labor or capital, including the abolition of the corn laws which made the food of the people dear; the removal of all unequal taxes, and the substitution of a property tax; the shortening of the term for which members of Parliament are elected, so that constituencies could sooner deal with those who misrepresent them; an extension of the franchise; the introduction of the ballot for the protection of voters from intimidation; and the abolition of flogging in the army and navy, and of impressment in the latter. Most of these projects have since been converted into the

law of the British empire; and so lately as 1879 Mr. C. S. Parnell carried into effect one of the leading ideas of his far-seeing and reforming relative by virtually "killing the 'cat.'"

The English people, as well as the Irish, have much for which to thank Mr. C. S. Parnell; and the case is exactly like with Sir Henry. He it was who opened for them the way to a reform of their Parliament. William the Fourth came to the British throne in the August of 1830. His Prime Minister was the Duke of Wellington; his Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Robert Peel. On the 12th of November Sir Henry Parnell moved a resolution—"That a select committee shall be appointed to take into consideration the estimates and amounts proposed by command of his Majesty regarding the Civil List." As a lively English writer says: "The Civil List is a list of all the revenues of the Crown—the income of the king in fact. And here scarcely had his Majesty got warm in his seat when this audacious man proposed to overhaul it. His Majesty was wrathful, and ordered his Ministers to oppose this daring proposal with all their might. And this, we may be sure, was done. But, lo! when the division came off, Sir Henry found that he had beaten the Government by a majority of twenty-nine. That was a very great thing to do. But mark what came of it. The Government resigned; the reign of Toryism—that 'anarchy

old'—was overthrown at last; and the way was opened for Earl Grey and Reform. This opened a new era." It opened a new era for Sir Henry Parnell himself also; for he was made Secretary for War in Lord Grey's Government, and Paymaster-General of the Forces in Lord Melbourne's. After thirty-nine years of membership in the House of Commons he was transferred to the Lords under the style and title of Baron Congleton. Mental overwork and illness brought on delirium, in 1842; and on the eighth of June in that year, at the age of sixty-five, while insanity obscured his reason, he unfortunately killed himself. He left a son, the second Baron Congleton, who has at least the merit of voting in favor of liberal measures.

Sir Henry, like his father, had no pretensions to oratorical power; but he was admittedly an excellent debater. He is described towards the close of his career as "of the middle size, rather inclining to stoutness; his complexion is fair; his features are regular, with a mild expression about them; and his hair is pure white."

Besides Sir Henry, Sir John Parnell left a son, William, who was content to live the life of a plain country gentleman, possessed of ample fortune. He had a son, named, after his distinguished grandfather and uncle, John Henry; and of this John Henry Parnell Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, M.P., is the fourth son.

Though this branch of the Parnell family was the younger, it was well endowed with worldly means, and had near aristocratic connections. Neither William nor John Henry was distinguished in the political world; but tradition says that as landlords their relations with their tenantry were of the most satisfactory kind. They would seem, too, to have cherished some pride in connection with the era of Irish independence, to judge from the care with which certain flags of the Volunteers of '82 have been handed down—flags which at present grace C. S. Parnell's mansion of Avondale, near Rathdrum, county Wicklow.

One of these most interesting relics of a glorious episode in Irish history is a cavalry ensign, of thick silk, richly ornamented on both sides. In shape it is of the kind known as a burgee—that is, an oblong flag with a triangular piece taken from its outer edge. On one side the color of the ensign is red, and on the other yellow. Its dimensions are three feet by two. In a centre-piece on one side appears a dog, with, divided above and below it, the inscription, "*Velox et acer—et fidelis amicis*," which means, "Swift and sharp—and faithful to friends." Divided above and below the border of the centre-piece is the further inscription, "*Independent Wicklow—Fors. Lt. Drags.*"; which last we take to represent "*Foresters' Light Dragoons.*" On the obverse is an oval centre-piece depicting a harp with

crown surmounting a massive castellated structure ; and fitted into the corners — a word in each — the following : " July — Anno — Dom — 1779," showing the date at which the Independent Wicklow Foresters' Light Dragoons were embodied. A similar device to this obverse one is painted on, not worked into, the other flag, which is a large infantry ensign of thin silk, now unfortunately giving way before the ravages of time.

John Henry Parnell, when a young man, went about seeing the world with his cousin Lord Powerscourt ; and while travelling in America he met, at Washington, the daughter of Admiral Stewart, of the American navy. He made her acquaintance ; they became intimate ; an attachment sprang up between them ; and after a while the aristocratically connected young Irishman took to wife the daughter of the old republican sea-warrior. The marriage was solemnized in New York. By this step John Henry Parnell brought into the family the blood of two men who had dared death in mortal combat with the British forces, and who, we may be sure, had transmitted to their offspring little love of the power whom they had considered it a duty and an honor to oppose even to the shedding of blood. A man's marriage is often the most momentous action of his own life. In the case of John Henry Parnell it was large in its consequences to Great Britain as well as to Ireland ; for the issue of his marriage

was five sons and six daughters ; among those sons was the present virtual leader of the Irish people, and if the land question of Ireland bids fair to get a satisfactory settlement largely through his guidance, the Parliament of Great Britain has received at his hands a shock to its traditions from which it can but slowly recover, if indeed it ever do recover at all.

At this stage of our record we shall leave the Parnells for a while, and turn to Charles Stewart Parnell's maternal ancestry. We shall find in their history many facts of deep interest.

More than a century ago, a Mr. Stewart, of Belfast, who was married to a lady whose maiden name was Sarah Ford, left Ireland in deep disgust with the state of affairs there, and determined to settle in what were then called the British colonies in North America, but which are now infinitely better known to all the world as the United States. The Fords, we need hardly observe, were originally a Connaught clan, and of as pure Milesian blood as any in Ireland. A great number of Northern Irishmen emigrated to America like Mr. Stewart about that period, and one and all, as even Mr. Froude admits, bore with them a burning hate of English misgovernment.

After the Irish fashion, the Stewarts had a large family. On the 28th of July, 1778, the youngest of eight children, a son, was born to them in Philadelphia, but a few weeks over two years sub-

sequent to the famous "Declaration of Independence." This son of Irish parents, overflowing with the vitality of the eternal Celtic race from which he drew his origin, lived to become one of the great naval heroes of history, had a career which cannot be described as anything less than romantic; and died after bearing for seven years the title of "admiral" — he being the very first on whom that title was conferred in the navy of the United States. Previous to 1862 the designation of the highest rank in that navy was "commodore;" and Admiral Stewart had been so dubbed formally for a great many years. He was the maternal grandfather of Charles Stewart Parnell. We mean to record his career with some detail; but for the sake of clearness in the general narrative we shall leave him for a little while, and turn for a moment to another branch of C. S. Parnell's maternal ancestry.

At the beginning of the American war of independence there was settled in Boston a young lawyer whose name was Tudor. A very English name, every reader will exclaim who remembers that it was the family name of the infamous monarch, Henry the Eighth of England. A very English name it was, in truth. But Englishmen had been driven from their own land by governmental persecution just as Irishmen had been; all who entertained ideas of liberty, whether in the civil or religious domain, were obnoxious to

the powers that were. So it came to pass that hosts of English colonists brought with them from their own to American shores an abiding sense of wrong, and a firm determination to resist any encroachments of the home government on their new-found liberties. Therefore, when this English-descended lawyer found the colonists ready to take up arms for freedom's sake, he was, like the Irish-descended lawyer, John Sullivan, one of the first to declare for it. He joined the army of the immortal Washington, and went through all the perils of the revolutionary war.

In doing so, besides risking life and limb, Tudor sacrificed his tenderest feelings for what he was convinced was his duty. He was ardently attached to a young lady whose people were devoted adherents of the British cause. They were engaged to be married when the civil commotion arose. It opposed a barrier to their union, which would not be allowed because forsooth he was a "rebel" to the British Government. He went on fighting against that Government as if he were wholly indifferent on the subject of the marriage; but after five years, when success was smiling on the cause of the insurgents, it was conveyed to him that all objections would be withdrawn. There are many men who, under like circumstances, would have exhibited the obstinacy of wounded vanity; but Mr. Tudor loved his sweetheart for her gracious self, not for her political



notions—whether they happened to be what he thought right or wrong—so he gladly espoused her after their long separation.

The spirit of Judge Tudor was communicated to his offspring; and when, after a generation, the rebellious stream of the Tudor blood was mingled with the fiery, indignant stream of the Stewarts', the mixture was not of a kind very susceptible to impressions favoring the notion that the inhabitants of England are a heaven-ordained governing race.

Admiral Stewart's father had been the master of an American merchant vessel. In less than two years after the birth of his youngest child, Charles, he died. The revolutionary war was still being actively waged, with the natural result of damaging almost every commercial interest in the country. Mrs. Stewart's resources were crippled like those of the mass of her fellow-citizens; and in these circumstances it was no easy matter for the widow to rear and educate eight children. But this daughter of the Fords, who is said to have been a woman of talent and great energy, accomplished her task single-handed for several years. Eventually she gave her children a step-father in the person of Captain Britton, who was a member of Congress, an intimate friend of Washington, and the commander of the body-guard of that most illustrious because most unselfish of successful soldiers. Captain

Britton was fond of young Charles Stewart, took him about with him, and on one occasion, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, introduced the boy, when he was about the age of twelve, to Washington himself. The incident made a deep impression on the youngster's mind. Even in his old age he was fond of recalling it, and used to speak with glee of the effect it had on his Philadelphian playfellows. "Not one of them," he would say, "dared knock a chip off my shoulder after that."

Charley was a wild, courageous boy, and cherished from an early age a positive passion for the sea. It would appear as though his naval aspirations were discouraged in the home circle; for about the age of thirteen he gave his friends the slip, ran away from school, and began his career on the ocean—a career destined to be so glorious—in the very humble capacity of cabin boy on board a merchant vessel. Just two years afterwards he was near losing his life at the hands of a leader of the negro insurgents of Hayti—namely, Christophe, who afterwards became king of the Island. Christophe had been a slave and a tavern-cook; but when the insurrection broke out against the French in San Domingo he joined the insurgents, and partly on account of his enormous stature and great strength, partly by reason of his reckless daring and abundant energy, soon rose to a position of high command. We append a de-

scription of the incident above referred to, taken from an old Life of Stewart:—

“The *Loraine*, owned by Britton and Massey, of Philadelphia, and commanded by Captain Church, came to anchor at St. Domingo, in 1793, just at the time of the insurrection. Charles Stewart was on board, still at the lowest round of the sailor’s ladder, for he was only fifteen years old and had been but two years at sea. One day, Christophe, a leader of the insurrectionists, came alongside in a row-boat, with several of his sable followers. The ‘citizen-general’ was attired in the elegant uniform of a French officer, which illy accorded with his ungainly carriage and bare black feet. Two of the teeth of his lower jaw protruded like the tusks of an animal, and added to the incongruous and grotesque effect. The awkward rowing of the natives, together with the comical appearance of the magnate, were too much for Charley. When Christophe asked him to throw him something by which to ascend the side of the ship, a spirit of deviltry seized the lad, and instead of tossing the rope to the visitor, he shook it in his face, and burst into a laugh.

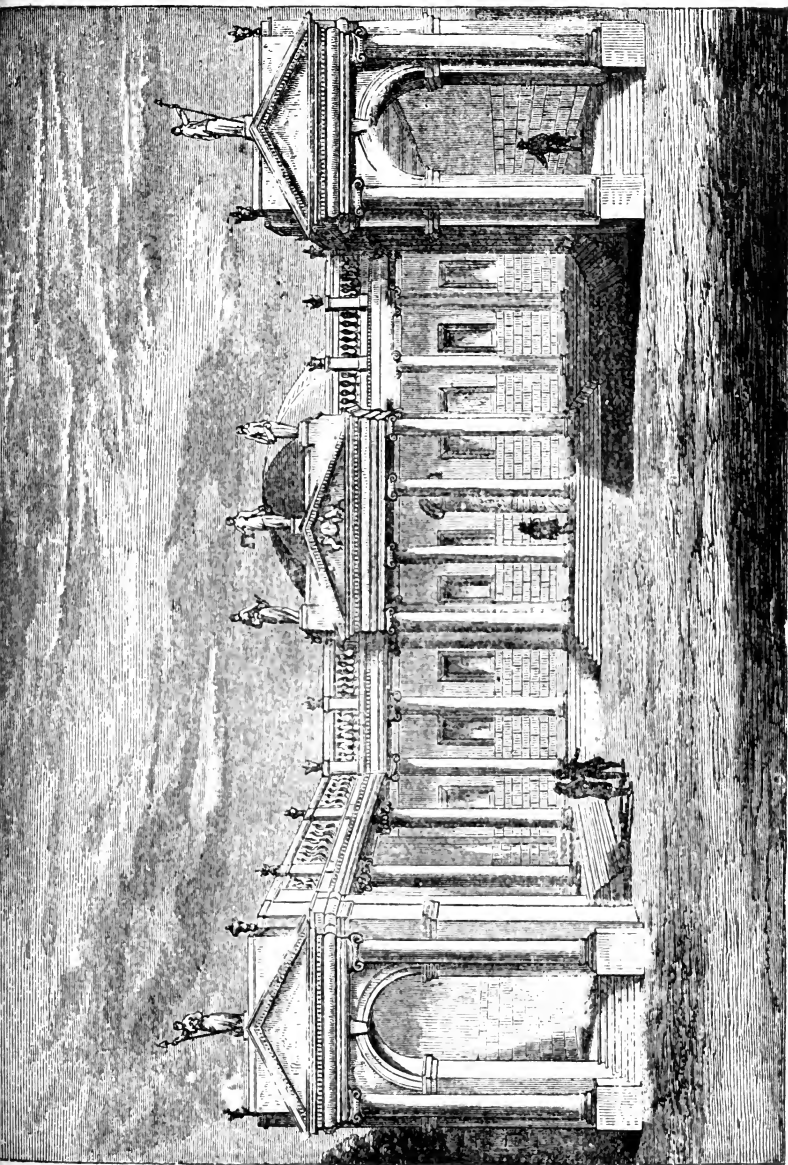
“In an instant Charley realized the extent of his offence, and, fearing vengeance, ran towards the cabin for protection. The commodore always said, in telling this story, that while on his way to the cabin ‘something told him’ that if he went there it would cost him his life. He at once changed his course, hurried to the place where the cook kept his wood, opened the trap-door, and jumping into the hole, replaced the cover and shoved a stick through the ring, so that the door

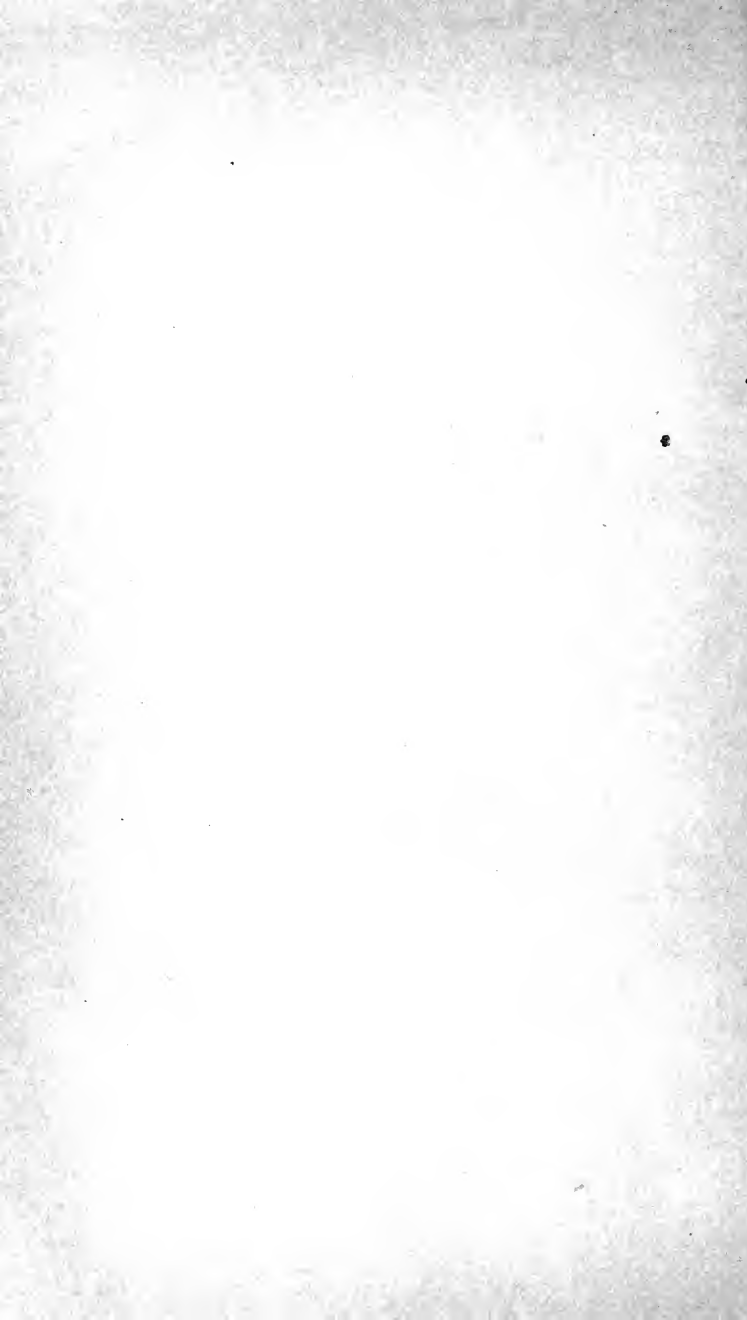
could not be opened from above. He had not been there many minutes when he heard Christophe and his men searching for him overhead.

“ It seems that the blacks finally succeeded in getting on board, the leader blind with rage. He demanded that that ‘white-headed boy’ should be given up to him immediately, and swore that he would have the fellow’s life. Captain Church was not sufficiently provided with arms to prevent violence, and pretended to aid him in his quest, after having failed to convince him that the lad had jumped overboard and swam to a French vessel which was lying not far off. Every portion of the *Lorraine* was searched, and the sailors were even compelled to shift a part of the cargo in the hold.

“ At last Christophe caught sight of the trap-door, beneath which the boy was lying in a state of fearful suspense. The moment the sailors found that this had been fastened from beneath, they knew that Charley must have made here his hiding-place, and they swore still more stoutly that he had swam to the French vessel. They exerted themselves, however, in fruitless mock efforts to lift the door; but Christophe, not satisfied, thrust his sword down on every side, the blade just escaping young Stewart, who cuddled himself up into small space in the centre.

“ At last the search was given up, and the captain, in order to appease Christophe, made him the magnificent present of a pair of stockings. These pleased the savage so that he fairly danced with delight; his good humor was still further augmented by the gift of a pair of shoes. The fellow finally got drunk on their liquors, supplied without stint, and in this condition they succeeded in getting rid of a most unwelcome guest.





“A week or two after this adventure—the ship still remaining at St. Domingo, as it was found difficult to dispose of the cargo in consequence of the disturbed state of affairs—young Stewart resolved to venture ashore. The captain gave him permission, at the same time warning him of his danger. But Stewart thought that, as Christophe had only seen his white head, he could easily disguise himself so that he would not recognize him. Accordingly he put on a different rig, and pulled his hat over his eyes so as to hide his silver-colored hair.

“The very first man he met, in sauntering up the street, was Christophe—French uniform, sword, pistols, musket, tusks, and all. We may be sure that the little fellow’s heart sank within him, and that his first impulse was to take to his heels. But the boy’s characteristic presence of mind and coolness in the face of danger saved his life. Carelessly whistling a tune, he kept on steadily, and in passing Christophe his clothes actually brushed against him. He felt that the savage had his eye fixed upon him suspiciously; and after passing him heard with affright the click caused by the cocking of a musket. The boy still moved on slowly, and apparently with the utmost unconsciousness; but turning the first corner, he scampered down a side street as fast as his legs could carry him. The rest of the day he lay hidden in the mountains, returning after dark to shore, and finding means to make his way back to the ship.”

But if Charley Stewart at the age of fifteen was still only at the foot of the seaman’s ladder, he did not long remain so. Before he was yet twenty he

had risen, step by step, through every grade of the merchant service, to the command of an Indian — a position almost unparalleled at so early an age. Still Charles Stewart was not content. He wished to devote himself to his country's service; for the French had made certain demands regarding rights of search and of capture of American vessels which the Government could not but withstand, and the two republics were on the verge of war. Therefore, Charles Stewart sought and found admission to his country's armed navy, and on the 9th of March, 1798, he was duly commissioned a lieutenant of the frigate *United States* commanded by the gallant Wexford man, Commodore John Barry, whose business it was to put an end to the depredations of French privateers on American commerce in the neighborhood of the West Indies.

In little more than two years — to wit, on the 16th of July, 1800 — the young lieutenant received an independent command in the schooner *Experiment*, fourteen guns. His cruising ground was still in the neighborhood of the West Indies. He had now the opportunity of distinguishing himself, and he hastened to avail himself of it.

From a sketch of his life we copy the following summary of his brilliant exploits in the *Experiment*: —

“On the night of the first of September he fell in with, and, after an action of ten minutes, captured the



French schooner, *Deux Amis*, of eight guns, which he sent home for condemnation. While watering in Prince Rupert's Bay, in the island of Dominica, two British sloops of twenty guns each arrived, one having an American named Amos Seeley impressed among its crew. Seeley wrote to Stewart imploring his help. He at once opened a characteristic correspondence with the British captain, demanding the release of the American, and in a personal interview with the officer used such logic as to induce him, although with reluctance, to comply. While cruising at daylight, on the 13th of September, two sails were discovered, bearing down on the *Experiment*, with the English colors flying. The *Experiment* was laying to with the British signal of the day flying. As they refused to answer his signal, and proved to be a brig of eight guns and a schooner of fourteen, Stewart determined to try the sailing qualities of the vessels. Discovering the *Experiment* could outsail them, they abandoned the chase, running up the French flag, and firing a gun of defiance to windward. Stewart immediately tacked ship and worked to windward, and gaining the gauge on them in turn became the pursuer. About three o'clock in the evening she ranged up on the larboard quarter of the stern most one and poured a broadside into her. In a few minutes the schooner struck and surrendered to the *Experiment*. She proved to be the French schooner *Diana*, on board of which were a lieutenant and a detachment of thirty invalid soldiers, a crew of sixty-five men, and General Rigaud on his way to France. Stewart immediately started after the brig, but she had got safe beyond his reach. After disposing of his prisoners at St. Christopher, Lieutenant Stewart did

valuable service in protecting American commerce in those seas.

“On the 16th of November, at midnight, he fell in with an armed vessel, which refused to answer his hail. After repeated efforts to learn the character of the stranger, he sent a shot into her, which was answered by a broadside. A running fight of forty minutes ensued, when the unknown struck. She proved to be a privateer of Bermuda, carrying eight guns. She was much cut up in her rigging, and had two shots through her bottom. Stewart lay by all next day assisting in the repair of her damages.

“The *Experiment* being ordered home, Lieutenant Stewart on the voyage rescued sixty-seven persons from a reef off Saona Island, and carried them to their homes in St. Domingo, the Government of which island wrote a warm letter of thanks to President Jefferson.”

A reduction of the navy was carried out by the Government in 1801, when only thirty-six out of the whole body of lieutenants were retained in the service. Of these thirty-six Charles Stewart was one. He lost his independent command, however, being appointed first officer in the frigate *Constellation* in 1802. When the vessel returned from her cruise, the war with Tripoli was afoot. In times of strife men like Stewart are properly valued in every navy. This was especially the case in the infant one of the United States. Stewart was at once appointed to the command of a new war-brig, the *Siren*, carrying sixteen guns, and ordered forthwith to join the

squadron off the coast of Barbary. Here he was employed blockading Tripoli and the harbors adjacent; in which service he succeeded in capturing a British brig and a Greek vessel. We read, that "on the 3d of August, 1804, the *Siren* led the attack on the town, flotilla, and batteries of Tripoli. For the gallant manner in which Stewart brought his vessel into action and prompt obedience to signals, the commodore the next day in general orders thanked him. For the whole of August and part of September the squadron vigorously bombarded the city and batteries of Tripoli whenever the wind would permit their approach and withdrawal. Upon all such occasions, night or day, they sent their flaming shells or crushing round shots at the foe, sinking several of their flotilla and damaging the batteries and houses." The conclusion of a treaty of peace put an end for the time to Stewart's chances of distinguishing himself further.

So far the incidents of Charles Stewart's naval career were evidences of his gallantry and skill. His next service was one which exhibited in him clear-sightedness, good sense, and highly honorable feeling. He had been promoted to the rank of Master Commandant, put in charge of a thirty-two gun-ship, the *Essex*, and despatched with a squadron to Tunis, between which State and the Union there was trouble brewing. The American consul sought refuge on board the fleet, so hos-

tile was popular feeling among the Tunisians. The posture of affairs was so serious, we read, that "a council was convened on board the flagship, the situation was explained, and the opinion of the officers demanded whether hostilities ought not to be immediately commenced. Captain Stewart gave it as his opinion that there was no power under the constitution which authorized hostilities and war on others, but that which was lodged exclusively with Congress; that the President could not exercise this power without the action and authority of Congress, much less the commander of an American squadron; that due respect for the laws of nations forbade aggression, and only justified self-defence by vigilance and convoy for the protection of citizens, their property and commerce; but where hostile attempts were made on either, he would be justified in seizing all persons engaged in them, but no farther would his country sanction his acts." His sound reasoning and discretion prevailed, and amicable relations were soon restored; the consul returning to his post, and the Bey of Tunis sending a special Minister to the United States. When President Jefferson received from the consul-general a copy of that opinion as delivered to the council, he expressed to his Cabinet "the high satisfaction he felt at having an officer in the squadron who comprehended the interna-

tional law, the constitution of his country, and the policy of his Government."

Naturally promotion followed a man who could not only fight and handle a ship, but could think clearly and judiciously for his country's interests and good name as well. A post-captaincy — then the highest rank in the United States navy — was bestowed on him the 22d of April, 1806; and as there was no need to employ him on active service, his versatile talents were turned to account in another way — namely, in superintending, at New York, for a couple of years, the construction of a flotilla of gun-boats.

Several years of peace followed, which Post-Captain Stewart, with the sanction of the authorities, utilized for his own profit in commercial enterprises which added considerably to his means. However, on the breaking out of the war with England in 1812, the first thought of the hero was not for himself or his interests but for his country's. He hastened to Washington to offer his services; but was stunned by receiving, at the navy department, the dismaying intelligence that President Madison's Cabinet, in view of the overwhelming superiority of the British navy, had decided to collect all the Union ships of war in New York harbor, partly to defend the place and partly to save the infant navy from annihilation. Stewart and Captain Brainbridge joined in an effort to convert the Secretary

of the Navy from the holding of a tenet so humiliating to the country ; and that same evening they addressed a joint letter to President Madison, so spirited, powerful, and convincing "as to cause him to immediately direct the Secretary of the Navy to send the vessels of war to sea to seek their enemy, and he would take the responsibility on himself." So that, before a shot was fired, Stewart had already covered himself with glory by being so deeply instrumental in taking his country out of a position of disgraceful timidity and national humiliation. The result fully proved the wisdom as well as the courage of both Brainbridge and Stewart ; for the naval annals of this war of 1812 are among the brightest records of heroic feats of arms and marvellous successes of which Americans can legitimately boast.

The day after the writing of the timely and influential letter just referred to, Stewart received instructions from the Secretary of the Navy to proceed immediately to New York to take command of the *Argus*, with which he was to scour the West Indies and the Gulf Stream, and to attack and capture every British ship he could, whether of war or merchandise. In the Secretary's communication occurs the following sentence, so highly flattering to Stewart : "To your judgment, your valor, and your patriotism is committed the best course to be pursued to accomplish the object of these instructions."

Nevertheless Stewart did not assume command of the *Argus*. A better vessel was put at his disposal. We read: "At a ball given to Captain Stewart and his officers before they proceeded to sea in the *Constellation*, by the citizens of Washington, in December, 1812, about ten o'clock at night, midshipman Hamilton, the son of the Secretary of the Navy, arrived with the flag of the *Macedonian* (British) frigate, and despatches from Captain Decatur, announcing his having captured her with the frigate *United States*. The dancing ceased, the flag was unrolled, and the despatch read to the President and the assembled ladies and gentlemen. The wildest scene of glorious confusion followed. A venerable Senator of the United States embraced the President; and the Secretary of the Navy, in a spirit of frankness beyond praise, announced to those assembled: 'It is to Captains Brainbridge and Stewart you owe your naval victories.'"

The *Constellation* was the vessel in which Charles Stewart set forth against the British; but, notwithstanding her starry appellation, her performances were not brilliant on that cruise. It was her gallant commander's ill fortune to be blockaded in the harbor of Norfolk, Virginia, by a fleet of heavy ships belonging to the enemy, against which it would have been sheer madness to dream of contending. But to be inactive at such a crisis in the fortunes of his land was the

idea which of all others he could least entertain. He accordingly got himself transferred to the frigate *Constitution*, in which he set sail from Boston in December, 1813, for the West Indies. In a short time he had met and destroyed several British ships, including the *Picton*, of sixteen guns, a privateer of ten guns, a schooner, and a brig. The *Constitution* had put so hurriedly to sea that after a few months she had to return to get new sails, instead of the worn-out ones she carried. On her way she was chased by two of the enemy's frigates, and Captain Stewart, not satisfied that his craft was just then in proper fighting trim, skilfully gave them the slip, and ran her almost under the guns of the fort of Marblehead, about sixteen miles north-east of Boston, where she was in safety. In a few days she was able to make Boston to refit.

It had happened many years previously that in an idle moment Charles Stewart had submitted to the imposition of one of that class of frauds known as "fortune-tellers," by whom he had been informed that it was his fate to marry "the belle of Boston." By one of those singular coincidences which sometimes happen, the prediction was literally verified. While waiting for his ship to be got ready he fell in love with and espoused Miss Delia Tudor, daughter of the Judge Tudor before mentioned, and who was pre-eminently "the belle" of the city. Short time was allowed



afterwards for nuptial bliss. The *Constitution* was ready for another cruise, and the bridegroom could no longer tarry with his bride. As he parted from her he asked her what present she would like him to bring for her on his return. "Bring me a British frigate," was her patriotic answer. "You shall have two," he replied, his eyes kindling with love and pride; "and I shall wear my wedding uniform in battle."

It was in the December of 1814 that he again put to sea, as little regardful of the Winter's wild storms as of the enemy's countless ships. Two of the latter were soon in his hands. One he destroyed; the other, which had on board a valuable cargo, he sent to New York.

By February, 1815, he was off the coast of Spain. There was some repining among the subordinate officers of the *Constitution* at the ill luck of the vessel in not having had a brush with the enemy off the European coast. Charles Stewart overheard them grumble. Perhaps he had a presentiment of what was about to come; perhaps — and this is more likely — he was actually in search, from information he had picked up, of certain British war-ships in his neighborhood. Whatever his inspiration, it is certain that he bade the officers to keep up their spirits, for the chance of distinguishing themselves for which they sighed was close at hand. "I assure you, gentlemen," he concluded, "that before another sun sets you will

be engaged in battle with the enemy, and it will not be with a single ship." This was said on the morning of the 19th of February.

About half-past one o'clock on the same day a sail some twelve miles away was descried by the look-out on the masthead of the *Constitution*. Chase was given until four o'clock, by which time the distance between the vessels was lessened by one-half, when unfortunately, under the power of a freshening breeze, the main-royal mast of the *Constitution* was carried away. Nothing could well be more vexatious to men "spoiling for a fight" as were those on board, since the accident in the short February evening gave the chase an excellent chance of slipping away. However, the gallant captain wasted no time in fretting over the mishap; but got to work at once in repairing the damage, and with such celerity that in half an hour a new spar had been put up, the royal sail again set, and the *Constitution* was forging ahead at her utmost speed. Just at this time another ship of war was reported by the look-out, and evidently exchanging signals with the chase. Captain Stewart understood the signals, and from them divined that the vessels were British men-of-war and consorts. What followed is so well described in the *Life of Stewart*, from which we have before quoted, that we shall make use of the description here:—

"One of the vessels being painted with double yel-

low streaks and false ports in the waist, had at a distance the appearance of a double-decked ship, and Lieutenant Ballard told Captain Stewart that she must be at least a fifty-gun ship. He replied that she looked too small to be a ship of that class, but might be an old forty-four on two decks. 'However,' he added, 'be this as it may, you know I promised you a fight before the setting of to-morrow's sun, and if we do not take it now that it is offered, we can scarcely have another chance. We must flog them when we catch them, whether she has one gun-deck or two!'

"At five o'clock the leeward ship bore up before the wind, under easy sail, to enable the chased ship to join her. The *Constitution* having gained considerably on the chase, with a hope of crippling her, or bringing her to action before she could join her consort, fired a shot at her which fell short. The chase continued until the two ships joined, and a little before seven o'clock, the moon shining brightly, the British ships hauled to the wind in a line ahead of each other, about two hundred yards apart. Reducing to fighting sail, and heaving to with the main-top sails to the masts, they awaited the American's coming up. The *Constitution* was on the starboard quarter of the sternmost vessel, about one mile distant. Furling in all except the top-sails, jib, and topgallant sails, reduced to fighting trim, she gradually luffed to starboard, and ranged along the windward side of the sternmost ship until she reached the desired position, which was at the apex of the equilateral triangle, the British ships forming the base line. Stewart heaving the *Constitution* to, with the mainsails to the mast and the jib in brails, he fired a shot, not at either, but between both, with a view to invite the ac-

tion and draw their fire. His motive for this was to make the British commit the first act of hostility, he having boarded a Russian ship three days before, direct from London, and received from her captain a copy of the London *Times*, containing the heads of the treaty of Ghent, as signed by the Ministers of the United States and Great Britain, and said to have been ratified by the Prince Regent. Supposing the British ships might have later information than himself, he wished to give them a chance to decline battle if peace had been made between the two countries."

Here we may interrupt the narrative for a moment to note how scrupulously Captain Stewart respected the rules and regulations of naval warfare, or, as it would be phrased in the London Parliament kept himself "in order." But to continue : —

"The *Cyane* (Captain Gordon Falcon) and the *Levant* (Captain Hon. George Douglas) answered with broadsides and musketry, and the *Constitution* opened with a division on the gun deck and another on the forecastle on the *Levant*, and two divisions on the gun deck and another on the quarter deck on the *Cyane*. The *Constitution* maintained the same position throughout the fight, as a nearer approach would have thrown one of the ships out of the line of her fire, and exposed her to being raked. Thus the battle was continued for about forty minutes, when the *Levant* wore off before the wind and retired from the fight. Her consort the *Cyane*, immediately after wore short round, and hauling close to the wind, poured in her

broadside with her colors struck and hanging over the taffrail, as the *Constitution* was in the act of wearing around after her. Not the slightest injury was done by this fire. Stewart, though feeling incensed, did not return it, determined to hold the officer in command responsible. The matter was afterwards explained as occurring in mistake. The *Cyane* was immediately taken possession of, and her officers sent on board the *Constitution*, which filled away to leeward after the *Levant*, followed by the prize, with the American ensign flying. The *Levant*, finding it impossible to escape, wore ship, and ranged under larboard tack along the starboard battery of the *Constitution* in close and gallant style, and delivered her fire. The *Constitution* poured into her a broadside, and wearing short around, plunged into her stern three chase shots, which arrested her escape and brought down her colors. She was immediately boarded and her officers sent to Stewart's ship.

“The principal injury received by the *Constitution* was in her rigging; that of the enemy's ships in their hulls. The Americans had three killed and twelve wounded, three of the latter mortally. The *Cyane* lost twelve killed and twenty-six wounded; the *Levant* twenty-three killed and sixteen wounded — total British casualties, seventy seven. The *Constitution* mounted fifty-one guns, twenty-four of which were thirty-two pounders; the *Cyane* thirty-two guns, of which twenty-two were thirty-two pounders; and the *Levant* twenty-one guns, eighteen of which were thirty-two pounders. The odds against the *Constitution* is most clearly shown in the calibre of the guns, the British carrying sixteen more thirty-two pounders.”

In his History of the American Navy, J. Fenimore Cooper, commenting on this splendid naval victory, says :—

“The manner in which Captain Stewart handled his ship on this occasion excited much admiration among nautical men; it being unusual for a single vessel to engage two enemies and escape being raked. So far from this occurring to the *Constitution*, however, she actually raked both her opponents; and the manner in which she backed and filled in the smoke, forcing her two antagonists down to leeward when they were endeavoring to cross her stern or forefoot, is surely the most brilliant manœuvring in naval annals.”

A couple of anecdotes relating to this sea-fight can hardly fail to be interesting here.

While the victor was sitting in his cabin, talking with one of his prisoners, a British captain, there entered a midshipman of the *Constitution*, to inquire if the crew might have their usual allowance of grog. Now the ordinary time of serving out grog had passed before the action began; so Captain Stewart, in surprise, asked if the men had not been supplied already. “No, sir,” replied the midshipman; “it was mixed ready for serving just before the battle began, but the forecastle men and other old sailors of the crew said they didn’t want any Dutch courage on board, and capsized the grog-tub in the lee-scuppers.” That is precisely the sort of spirit which at least deserves

success, and which generally succeeds in attaining it.

The two British captains were foolish enough to dispute in Stewart's presence concerning the conduct of the battle, and to blame each other for not having done this, that, or the other which must infallibly have brought about a different result to the action. Such paltry endeavors to shift blame from each to the other were eminently distasteful to a truly brave man, as Stewart was; and at length he felt bound to interfere. "Gentlemen," said he, "there is no use in getting warm about it; it would have been all the same whatever you might have done. If you doubt that, I will put you all on board again, and you can try it over." Englishmen would say that the remark was only a specimen of "Yankee bumptiousness;" impartial critics may see in it merely the confidence of a man who knew why and how he had won, and who felt himself able to do again what he had already done. At all events the British captains did not jump at his offer, but preferred to remain snug and safe as prisoners of war on board the *Constitution*.

On the 10th of March the *Constitution* and her two splendid prizes arrived at Port Praya in the island of Santiago, the largest of the Cape de Verde group. Next day the British captains were allowed on shore, on parole, to make arrangements for the transport of their crews to

Barbadoes. They secured two brigs in the harbor. While the *Constitution's* boats were carrying provisions, etc., to the brigs, a heavy British squadron, under Sir George Collier was discovered approaching in the thick fog, within three miles of the position of Stewart's ship and her prizes. It was the well known policy of the British ships of war to attack their enemy's cruisers in neutral waters if it could be done without danger. They preferred reimbursing any claims made upon such neutral by an enemy than to allow that enemy's vessel to escape and commit depredations upon their commercial marine. Stewart was well aware of this; he appreciated accurately the utterly unscrupulous character of the British; and he instantly recognized the danger of his position. Beating to quarters, making all sail, and cutting cable, he got under way, and stretched out of the harbor, followed by the two prizes. The British fleet hurried immediately in pursuit, the *Acasta*, of fifty guns, gradually crawling up to the prize *Cyane*. Stewart signalled the latter to tack and separate from him, which she did, and doubled their rear, and arrived safe in New York. The fleet held steadily in pursuit of the *Constitution*; the *Newcastle*, sixty-four guns (Captain Lord George Stewart), coming well up. Fortunately, however, she opened fire by divisions, which had the effect of retarding her sailing much. Stewart apprehended most from the posi-



tion and weatherly qualities of the *Acasta*, which he saw would soon obtain a position to hold the *Constitution* in check until her more powerful consort could come up. Fighting was out of the question, as his crew was short by reason of having to subtract from it the crews which took possession of the prizes; while the crews of the prizes themselves were of necessity much too weak to handle those vessels in an encounter with a powerful squadron. Nothing was left to Commander Stewart, therefore, than to trust to his skill in manœuvring to get away unscathed. He consequently signalled the *Levant* to tack, and lighted his shot-furnace, in the hope of putting a few red-hot balls into the enemy's hull and setting her on fire, so forcing her consorts to go to her relief.

Immediately after the *Levant* tacked, a signal was thrown out from the *Leander*, the sixty-four gun ship of Sir George Collier, who commanded the squadron, for the *Acasta* to tack after the *Levant*, and the *Leander* and the *Newcastle* tacking at the same time to cut off her retreat by their rear, thus compelled the *Levant* to return to Port Praya, where she anchored under the guns of the forts, in neutral waters, in which, according to international law, she should have been perfectly safe from attack. The British fleet, however, followed her and entered the harbor, taking her thence by force with them to the West Indies,

together with the boats of the *Constitution* and her anchors, and those of the *Cyane* and *Levant*, left in the neutral waters of the harbor. Not the slightest attempt was made by the forts to preserve the neutrality of the waters inviolate. The Portuguese, being weak, were afraid to stand up for their rights; and the British, who have a great respect for the strong, and none whatever for the weak, trampled without scruple, after their wont, on the undoubted rights of the Portuguese, simply because they were weak.

Stewart, however, contrived to elude them, and in the *Constitution* proceeded to Brazil, landed his prisoners, and returned to Boston. The news of his remarkable victory was received with enthusiasm throughout the country. In Boston he and his officers were honored with a triumphal procession. In New York the council voted him the freedom of the city, gave him a gold snuff-box, and him and his officers a public dinner. Pennsylvania voted him the thanks of the commonwealth and a gold-hilted sword. Congress passed a vote of thanks to him and his brave officers, caused a gold medal to be struck in his honor, and presented it to him in commemoration of the event.

The remainder of Admiral Stewart's career we condense from an excellent sketch of his life which appeared in the *Bordentown Register*, and to which we have been already indebted.

The war having terminated with Great Britain, Captain Stewart never again met the enemy in battle. Yet his active career of usefulness in the service of his country was not ended. In the Mediterranean squadron, commanded by Commodore Chauncey, a widespread spirit of mutiny had manifested itself. So far had it gone that the malcontent officers had actually "threatened to draw their swords on their commanders." Commodore Stewart was in 1817 sent in ship-of-the-line *Franklin* to supersede Chauncey and restore the proper discipline. In 1819 he ordered a court-martial to meet on board the *Guerriere*, to try a marine for an alleged offence. The officers, however, preferred to sit at a hotel in Naples, where the man was tried and convicted. The commodore, knowing that the session of the court at any place than that directed by orders was illegal, disapproved the proceedings, released the prisoner, and informed the court of his action. The court passed a series of resolutions, which act was instantly followed by the arrest of every commanding officer of the vessels of the squadron. This summary proceeding at once restored a healthy state of feeling throughout the squadron. The President and Cabinet approved of Stewart's proceeding, but as the officers expressed regret at their conduct, the matter was dropped.

While the squadron lay at Naples the Emperor of Austria and suite visited the *Franklin*. The

grand master of the Empress, arrayed in a magnificently brilliant uniform, being somewhat near-sighted, mistook a wind sail for a mast, and fell from the deck to the cock-pit, breaking his ankle. The commodore, who was engaged in conversation at the time, not seeing what had happened, asked what the matter was. The old quartermaster of the watch, whose duty it was to see everything, far and near, replied coolly, "Oh, nothing, sir; only one of them bloody kings has fallen down the hatch!"

In 1821 Commodore Stewart was sent in the *Franklin* to the Pacific. The Spanish-American provinces were struggling for independence Spain was a friendly Power to whom the United States owed justice and a strict neutrality. The "Patriots" possessed all American sympathies. The Pacific was swarming with buccaneers claiming the protection of Spain, who were depredating on American commerce, and the "Patriots" had declared a paper blockade of hundreds of miles of coast. Stewart owed but one duty, and that was to his country. He promptly put an end both to the nominal blockade and to the protected piracy.

On his return home he was confronted by a long series of charges, some of trifling, some of serious import, regarding his demeanor while in the Pacific. The Navy Department thought best that these accusations should be submitted to a

court-martial. The court honorably acquitted the commodore, and stated they felt compelled "by a sense of duty to go farther, and to make unhesitatingly this declaration to the world—that, so far from having violated the high duties of neutrality and respect for the laws of nations; so far from having sacrificed the honor of the American flag, or tarnished his own fair fame, by acting upon any motive of a mercenary or sordid kind; so far from having neglected his duty, or betrayed the trust reposed in him by refusing proper protection to American citizens and property, or rendering such protection subservient to individual interests, no one circumstance has been developed throughout the whole course of this minute investigation into the various occurrences of a three years' cruise, calculated to impair the confidence which the members of this court, the navy, and the nation have long reposed in the honor, the talents, and the patriotism of this distinguished officer, or to weaken in any manner the opinion which all who know him entertain of his humanity and disinterestedness. These virtues only glow with brighter lustre from this ordeal of trial, like the stars he triumphantly displayed when valor and skill achieved a new victory to adorn the annals of our naval glory.

Upon the commodore's return from Washington, where his trial took place, to his native city Phil-

adelphia, his friends greeted him with a public dinner.

Many years later on, his popularity continued so great that an effort was made to "run" him for the Presidency. In the course of four months no less than sixty-seven papers declared for him. But the project did not receive his sanction; he gave it no countenance; he would not even discuss it; he was "unusually nervous and fidgety" during the agitation of the subject; and at length its promoters were impelled to give it up. He regained his usual equanimity only when his name ceased to be bandied about by the political press.

Commodore Stewart while on shore was constantly employed upon naval boards and commissions, court-martials, etc., and for many years was in command of the Philadelphia Navy Yard, from which latter position he was relieved at his own request in 1861. He was long the confidential and trusted adviser of the Navy Department and the naval committees of Congress. In 1855 Congress created a retiring board, and Stewart was among its illustrious victims. A few years afterwards a special Act of Congress was passed, conferring upon him the title of "Senior Flag Officer" on the active list. He refused to receive the commission, claiming that he already held that rank. His commission as Rear Admiral, the first sent out under the new law, bears date July 16th, 1862.

Admiral Stewart was in his eighty-third year when the insurgents of the South fired upon Fort Sumpter. It roused the blood of the old man's heart to hear of this insult to his nation's flag. At once he wrote to the department imploring to be put on active service. "I am young as ever," he pleaded "to fight for my country." It was hard to deny the old hero the opportunity to draw once more his sword in defence of the flag and Government he loved so well, but younger men were required for the steamship service, to which he was a stranger.

He lived on for nine years more, towards the last suffering fearfully from a deadly disease. In his Life we find this passage :—

"We know how he suffered, and how gradually, yet surely, he was failing. And yet we heard how near the invalid came to blowing himself up in some strange chemical experiment, and what fun he made of the danger. To the last he was cheerful and hopeful—busied with affairs, dictating letters, cracking jokes, expecting soon to be well again. Then he could not leave his bed—was unable to speak without agony—wrote on a slate 'I want'——. They could not read what it was he wanted, his hand trembled so. Perhaps it was the cup of cold water they pressed to his parched lips. Thus, surrounded by those who loved him, the brave spirit passed peacefully away."

"His death took place on the afternoon of November 6th, 1869, he being in the ninety-second year of his age. The council of Bordentown passed appropri-

ate resolutions, the bells tolled their requiem, business was suspended, and the citizens paid their reverence. A government steamer was despatched from the Philadelphia Navy Yard to convey his body to that city. It grounded, and the remains, accompanied by the mayor, council, and distinguished citizens, were conveyed by rail. With the naval escort, the stars shining brightly, they proceeded to Independence Hall, where silently they laid him down, while the old bell tolled forth its solemn notes. The next day, after thousands of citizens had paid their humble reverence, amidst the booming of guns, the muffled notes of bells, and the funeral strains of music, in the presence of the distinguished men of the nation and of the city, and thousands of veterans of the late war for the Union, the old hero's body was given back to mother earth."

His personal appearance, manner, and mental characteristics are described as follows :—

"Commodore Stewart was about five feet nine inches high, and of a dignified and engaging presence. His complexion was fair, his hair chestnut, eyes blue, large, penetrating, and intelligent. The cast of his countenance was Roman, bold, strong, and commanding, and his head finely formed. His control over his passions was truly surprising, and under the most irritating circumstance his oldest seaman never saw a ray of anger flash from his eye. His kindness, benevolence, and humanity were proverbial, but his sense of justice and the requisitions of duty were as unbending as fate. In the moment of greatest stress and danger he was as cool, and quick in judgment, as he was



utterly ignorant of fear. His mind was acute and powerful, grasping the greatest or smallest subjects with the intuitive mastery of genius. He was a thorough seaman, and not only fully understood his profession as a naval commander, but all the various interests of commerce, the foreign policy of his country, the principles of government and the law of nations. His numerous official letters and reports, his correspondence and public writings, embracing as they did a wide range of subjects, showed great accuracy of information."

Characteristic of the man are the following anecdote and incident :—

The *Franklin*, while under his command, was lying one night at anchor in Gibraltar Bay, when a sudden blow came up from the eastward, causing her to drag her anchors and go adrift. A midshipman aroused the commander with the startling news: "How's the wind?" said Stewart. "From the east," was the reply; "she has dragged down hill, and is drifting towards Algeria." "Well," was the quiet rejoinder, "the anchors will take when she drifts over there, as it will be up hill on the other side."

"I never lost but one tooth in my life," he said to a friend; "it ached, and I pulled it out with a bullet mould, aboard ship, in a gale of wind."

"As a story-teller Stewart was inimitable; he was famous, moreover, for repartee, and an ever ready wit. His manners were always polite, even distinguished; he dispensed a liberal hospitality, and at the head of his table he was unsurpassed. Throughout he pre-

served a native dignity, and parried with ease every familiarity, as well as the many inconvenient demands which men in his position are constantly subject to."

On a high bluff of the Delaware, south of Black's Creek, in the environs of Bordentown, is the old country seat of Admiral Stewart, called by him Montpelier, but now generally known as Ironsides. A former proprietor caused to be erected the present large mansion house. The admiral purchased it in 1816, added another story, tastefully laid out the grounds, and planted many white pines, whose tops now reach the height of a hundred feet.

Admiral Stewart left two children, Delia Tudor and Charles Tudor Stewart. Charles graduated at college, became a civil engineer, and assisted in laying out railroads. At twenty-seven years of age he performed so well some delicate work in investigating the affairs of a New Orleans firm engaged in supplying timber for foreign navies that he was taken into partnership, and entrusted with the entire management of the business in Europe. Being well acquainted with Prince Murat, whom he had often befriended during his exile and poverty in Bordentown, the prince presented him to his cousin the Emperor Napoleon the Third, and the chiefs of the Naval Department of France, from whom he obtained heavy contracts for timber. In comparatively a few years he amassed a large fortune. After travelling

much through Europe he went to New Orleans, where he studied law and became quite noted in his new profession. He died several years ago, leaving his estate to his sister Delia, who, as has been previously stated, had become the wife of John Henry Parnell.

John Henry and Delia Parnell had five sons and six daughters. Five of the latter and three of the former are still living—namely, John Howard, Charles Stewart, Henry Tudor, the Misses Fanny, Anna, and Theodosia, and two married sisters—Mrs. Thompson, who resides in Paris with her husband; and Mrs. Dickenson, who generally lives in her native land. On the death of their father, at the comparatively early age of forty-eight, he left behind him three estates in Ireland. Charles Stewart Parnell was his fourth son.

Charles' elder brother, John Howard Parnell, inherited a considerable property in the county Armagh, on which he usually resides. He also owns an extensive farm in the State of Alabama. At the general election of 1874 he stood as a Home Rule candidate for the representation of county Wicklow, but was defeated. The remaining and youngest brother, Henry Tudor Parnell, was educated to the bar, and is the owner of landed property in the county Kilkenny. He mostly lives in England. The three unmarried sisters of Mr. C. S. Parnell, as is now pretty generally known, share his Irish sympathies, are

proud of the honest manly part he has taken in Irish politics, and are ever ready to defend it and him against all slanderous assailants. They were the first to start subscriptions in America for the Irish people threatened with famine, early in the last quarter of 1879.

Mrs. Delia Parnell, the daughter of Admiral Stewart, brought to her Irish home of Avondale a strong American love of independence, and a hearty hate of British greed and desire for domination. She became in thought and feeling an Irish Nationalist; and from her mainly is derived the warm popular sympathies which glow in the breasts of four of her children. During her residence in Ireland she used the means at her disposal most liberally in alleviating the perennial miseries of the poor around her. At the time of the Fenian troubles she exerted herself in effecting the escape of some who were badly "wanted" by the authorities—a circumstance which procured for her house in Upper Temple Street, Dublin, the distinction of a visit from and search by the police. In the end she retired to the home of her youth, Bordentown, New Jersey, with her unmarried daughters; at which place she spends most of the year, but winters at New York. As the heir of her father and brother, as well as through the resources left her by her husband, she is mistress of an ample income.

Charles Stewart Parnell was born in the month

of June, 1846, at Avondale, Rathdrum, the mansion now in his own possession.

As a child, his mother says, he showed an uncommon love of study; devoting far more time to his books than to the ordinary sports of childhood. His memory was admirable, and he was by no means deficient in wit and sprightliness. As a boy of ten he amused his fellow-passengers in a coach on a country road by comparing the population and military strength of the various countries in Europe, with a view to determining their respective chances in the event of a general war. At this time, however, his mind ran less in the direction of politics than toward mechanical science, and he amused his friends and taxed his own mind not a little in the effort to solve the problem of a perpetual-motion machine. Again, when he wanted some bullets and had no mould in which to form them, he conceived the idea of making them as shot is made — by dropping hot lead from a high tower. The family knew nothing of his design till they were startled by the butler's cry — "Come down there, you young rascal! What are you trying to do?" and the next moment that worthy man rushed up the winding staircase to the roof in time to save the ingenious lad from breaking his neck by a fall of fifty feet to the ground below, where, on the well-worn stones, lay a cake of flattened lead.

Another anecdote of the politician would cause

a moment's wonder that he has not become a military rather than a civil leader of men. The nursery at home was well garrisoned with Liliputian soldiers, of whom Charles commanded one well organized division, while his sister directed the movements of another and opposing force. These never came into actual conflict, but faced one another impassively, while their respective commanders peppered with pop-guns at the enemy's lines. For several days the war continued without apparent advantage being gained by either side. One morning, however, heavy cannonading was heard in the furthest corner of the room (produced by rolling a spiked ball across the floor). Pickets were called in, and in three minutes from the firing of the first shot there was a general engagement all along the line. Strange as it may seem, Miss Parnell's soldiers fell by the score and hundred, while those commanded by her brother refused to waver even when palpably hit. This went on for some time, until, as she obstinately refused to surrender, the young lady's host was completely routed and victory perched upon the standards of her foe. It was learned, from his own confession an hour after this Waterloo, that Charles had, before the battle began, glued his soldiers' feet securely to the table.

Following the un-Irish fashion of his caste — that of the upper classes — John Henry Parnell determined to give his son an English education.

He seems to have been of opinion also that the process of Anglicizing could not be too soon begun on the child; for at the age of six little Charles was carried over to and left at a private school near the picturesque little town of Yeovil in Somersetshire. There he remained for about three years. A violent attack of typhoid fever seized him at the Yeovil school, where he lay for weeks at the point of death. His constitution never afterwards quite rallied from the effects of that dreadful prostration; and for years he was considered absolutely a delicate boy. How he has borne up under the accumulated fatigues, exertions, and travels undergone during his active political career seems, when read in the light of the fact last mentioned, but little short of the miraculous.

A couple of years spent amid the bracing airs of the Wicklow hills restored him sufficiently to admit of his being again sent to school. The place selected was again in England — namely, at a spot called Kirk-Langley, near the town of Derby. Here he grew apace, springing up into a tall slender young lad. As the time drew nigh when it was meant that he should enter a university he was placed under the care of the Rev. Mr. Whishaw, then residing at Chipping-Norton, not far from the city of Oxford. This reverend gentleman afterwards became chaplain to the School for the Blind at Liverpool, and enjoys the

reputation of being one of the most celebrated pulpit orators of that great emporium.

John Henry Parnell had entered the university of Cambridge himself; and the same university he selected for his son Charles, who matriculated there at the age of eighteen. It was the father's wish that his son should go to the bar; but the son had no liking for the lawyer's life or work, and resolutely opposed the parental choice of a destiny for him. He carried his point, almost as a matter of course.

He remained but two years at the university, and so did not graduate. Following in his father's footsteps, he went abroad to see the world, and travelled in the United States during the years 1872 and 1873.

As a youth, Charles Stewart Parnell showed no particular interest in the affairs of Ireland — how could he with such a denationalizing course of training as was inflicted on him? — and when he discussed Irish politics with his sisters he frequently took the Conservative side, to annoy them in a harmless way. This humor sometimes worried his mother, who, as she declares, has an American horror of Toryism. Like his father, John Henry Parnell, Charles was a skilful cricketer, and when at home always took part in the game, which is much played in Wicklow. In those days he was something of a wag, and would keep the table in a roar.



But in the November of 1867 an incident had occurred in Manchester which fastened itself on his memory — the execution of Allen, Larkin, and O'Brien. As he had entered on manhood, and learned to think seriously of men and events, he dwelt on "the Manchester three" and their cruel fate, and thought of the brief, pregnant prayer which came from their lips as they hovered on the dizzy verge of eternity — the immortal "God save Ireland!" At length he resolved to do what in him lay for her safety. He consulted with his uncle Charles Stewart, then living in Paris, and his resolve received the approval of the brave old admiral's son. Next he laid his intention before his mother; and we need hardly observe that Mrs. Delia Parnell was not the one to offer him opposition in such a cause. Finally he took the step of joining the Home Rule League — a decisive one in many ways for him, but especially because it cut him off as a political heretic from several near relatives with whom he would naturally have wished to live in the closest unity, political as well as social.

Having thus thrown in his lot with the people and their supreme cause — the cause of self-government — he was eager to work and make sacrifices in their behalf. The opportunity soon came. Immediately after the general election of 1874, Colonel Taylor, one of the members for Dublin County, having accepted a post in the Govern-

ment, it was needful that he should seek re-election. The country was then full of spirit and hope, and it was determined that he should not have his seat without a fight for it. But a candidate was wanted who would be willing to spend money freely on the election, for the general good of the cause, and in the full knowledge that for the expenditure he must not expect a seat in the House of Commons.

Charles Stewart Parnell was at hand. He was asked if he would be the man in the gap on this occasion, and he willingly consented to take up the uninviting position of a candidate foredoomed to defeat.

Though the contest for Dublin County was from the first a hopeless one on the Home Rule side, it was, nevertheless, deemed judicious to hold a public meeting in Dublin, in support of Mr. Parnell's candidature. If such a meeting could attain no other useful purpose, it would at least introduce the young and unknown politician to the people he was so eager to serve. Accordingly, the council of the Home Rule League convened a meeting in the Rotundo for the afternoon of the 9th of March, 1874. On the occasion the room was filled, early as was the hour; the platform was thronged with an influential and representative assemblage, including many members of Parliament.

As at this meeting Mr. Parnell made his first

appearance before the public, it is worthy of some notice in this narrative. Among the M.P.'s present the most prominent were Honest John Martin; Isaac Butt, then in reality as well as in name the trusted leader of the Irish people; A. M. Sullivan, Mitchell Henry, and Richard O'Shaughnessy. It was pretty generally known by then that Charles Stewart Parnell was a scion of the family which had produced Sir John, the stout and self-sacrificing foe of the Union, and Sir Henry, the lifelong advocate of Catholic equality; so there was great enthusiasm among those assembled on that day in the Rotundo in favor of the relative of those two worthies who had come forward to identify himself with the people and their cause. The popular instinct, which is so seldom wrong in public affairs, had seized on the fact that the young man was the inheritor of great reputations and unsullied memories, and inferred from it that he would follow in the footsteps of his honored predecessors, and that, in whatever else he might fail, he might be relied on for honesty of purpose. This was the reason why the room was thronged at an hour when men in the city are usually minding their private business, as well as why so deep an interest was taken in the object of the meeting.

To Mr. A. M. Sullivan was committed the duty of proposing the first resolution, which warmly approved of the candidature of Mr. Charles Stew-

art Parnell. The speaker had uttered but a few sentences when there occurred one of those striking coincidences, dramatic in their effect, which dwell for ever in the memory of beholders. Mr. Sullivan was expressing the delight that should be felt, and the hope that should be inspired, by seeing the bearers of historic names like that of Parnell coming back into the ranks of the people; when, just as the sentence was finished, a tall, slender young man came through the doorway, and looking neither to the right nor the left, began quietly making his way through the crowd towards the platform. Of those in the room probably not a score had ever seen him before, nor even heard his personal appearance described; yet, by some subtle process of intuition, characteristic of the Irish mind, it at once became known among the mass of the large gathering that the new arrival, so unostentatiously moving up the room, was the very bearer of a historic name to whom Mr. Sullivan had just referred. It was like the work of magic in its wondrous suddenness. Every eye was fixed on the young man; people stood on tiptoe and craned their necks to get a view of him; while cheer after cheer resounded through the spacious hall, loud and long-sustained, and threatening, if not to raise the roof off the place, at least to split the ears of all in the assembly. Such a scene of enthusiastic but not disorderly animation is but rarely witnessed. Eyes bright-

ened, faces beamed, hats and handkerchiefs waved in the air, voices were making themselves hoarse ; yet all the while the object of the demonstration, with bent head and downcast eyes, quietly pursued his way, as if unconscious of the honor paid him—or, if conscious, as though he felt it unfitting to receive popular rewards before he had done enough to deserve them. Yet it was plain that his feelings were deeply moved by his reception ; for when he stepped on to the platform he was pale, and indeed exhibited the appearance of agitation. When, after the last burst of cheering, Mr. Sullivan, resuming his interrupted speech, confirmed the instinct of the audience by saying that literally, as well as figuratively, his friend Mr. Parnell had come among them, there was another enthusiastic outburst, prolonged and deafening ; and before it was over some of the thoughtful present were asking themselves if a great public career lay not before this modest-looking youthful politician, whose very presence, unheralded, unannounced, could take captive public confidence in a manner so remarkable. As for the mass, they waited with impatience for the speech they expected him to deliver.

The time came for him to speak, and he rose to his feet to make his first public deliverance, amid a tempest of cheers. All present saw that he was laboring under strong emotion, for his color came and went, and his breast heaved perceptibly.

We can fancy the thoughts which stirred the fountains of feeling within him to their veriest depths. He had resolved to devote himself to his people, to work for them with all his might; and here, at the very outset of his career—before, as it were, he had yet actually put his hand to the plough—was he receiving an earnest of the gratitude which the Irish people are ever ready to lavish on all who have even tried honestly to serve them. No doubt he knew that the good deeds of Sir John and Sir Henry Parnell had paved the way for him to the core of the people's hearts; and no doubt also he inly resolved at that moment that he would leave behind him at least the repute of being as much "a man of integrity" as any one of his forefathers. At all events, whatever his thoughts may have been, he was considerably unnerved; for when he began to speak it was in broken sentences, and in a voice that faltered with excess of feeling.

It was a scene to be long remembered. There, on the front of the platform, by the chairman's table, he stood, tall, slender, pale, lofty of forehead, his lips unquivering, his chin firm and resolute-looking, his bosom laboring, his brown eyes flashing over the throng, his back well set up, and indeed with a carriage that suggested a military training. And while in the excitement of that moment—an excitement the exact like of which he could never again know—his tongue grew un-

willing to express his thoughts, and forced him to hesitate and to pause, a painfully intent silence fell on the anxious audience. In the chair was O'Gorman Mahon, sitting with soldierly erectness in spite of his advanced years, and with a piercing gaze fixed on the faltering novice. From the right of the platform kindly as well as "honest" John Martin surveyed the young Protestant patriot, with a benignant smile illuminating his grave, sweet countenance; the homely, genial face of Isaac Butt beamed with overflowing good-nature; the blue eyes of Alexander Sullivan glowed in eager sympathy, while his whole air indicated to observers an intense desire to spring to the aid of the speaker, and to invest him with his own power of apt and fluent expression; Mitchell Henry, too, from the left of the platform, exhibited an unmistakably kindly interest in the young speaker, whose native modesty and excited feelings combined to impair his delivery of the thoughts surging in his brain. Indeed every eye was riveted on him, both from the platform and from the floor of the hall; and though a great many were criticising unfavorably his first effort as a public speaker, it must be admitted that there was something in his appearance which impressed every one favorably, for every one undoubtedly cheered him without stint.

When the meeting broke up there was a good deal of discussion among groups of the assem-

blage concerning the chances of the candidate's success in public life. The verdict of many, who had noted only his faltering utterance and his broken sentences, was, "That young man will be a failure. He can't speak." But the shrewder, who had noted the firm set-up of his back and the resolute rigidity of mouth and chin, more sagely observed, "There is *something* in that young man. It will come out in time. Wait and see." Which section was right all know now.

The Dublin County election at which Mr. Parnell was a candidate is hardly worth referring to further now than to say that, as was expected, he was beaten. It is very well known that the Tories of that county look carefully after the Parliamentary register, year by year; while, on the other hand, hundreds on hundreds of men possessing popular sympathies, and having the needful electoral qualifications, are too apathetic to take the trouble to attend at revision sessions to secure their undoubted right to vote. It must suffice to say that when the polling day had come and gone, and the votes cast had been counted, it was found that Colonel Taylor had received 2,122; that Mr. Parnell's tally was only 1,141; and consequently that the former had been returned by a majority of 981.

One feature of this contested election must still retain a strong interest for every reader. We allude to Mr. Parnell's candidatorial address to the



constituency. Few people have ever dreamt of referring to it since his defeat; and yet it cannot but be important to know on what publicly announced principles he began his political career. They furnish a safe test both of his honesty in adopting them and his consistency in adhering to them. We have pleasure, therefore, in reproducing the main portions of this address, which we are confident our readers will welcome with equal pleasure:—

“Upon the great question of Home Rule I will by all means seek the restoration to Ireland of our domestic Parliament, upon the basis of the resolutions passed at the National Conference last November, and the principles of the Home Rule League, of which I am a member.

“If elected to Parliament I will give my cordial adherence to the resolutions adopted at the recent conference of Irish members, and will act independently alike of all English parties.

“I will earnestly endeavor to obtain for Ireland a system of education in all its branches—university, intermediate, and primary—which will deal impartially with all religious denominations, by affording to every parent the opportunity of obtaining for his child an education combined with that religious teaching of which his conscience approves.

“I believe security for his tenure, and the fruits of his industry, to be equally necessary to do justice to the tenant and to promote the prosperity of the whole community. I will, therefore, support such an exten-

sion of the ancient and historic tenant-right of Ulster, in all its integrity, to the other parts of Ireland, as will secure to the tenant continuous occupation at fair rents."

In addition he promised to work for "a complete and unconditional amnesty;" and, after a graceful reference to the efforts made by his relatives, Sir John and Sir Henry, for the good of the Irish people, he concluded:—

"If you elect me I will endeavor, and think I can promise, that no act of mine will ever discredit the name which has been associated with these recollections."

No need to ask now whether any act of his has since discredited that name. Has he fulfilled both in letter and spirit those early pledges given when a young untried man? Has he sought the restoration of our domestic Parliament "by all means"? Has he acted "independently alike of all English parties"? Has he been idle in reference to the land question? Was he "behind the door" in regard to the amnesty? Has he neglected the cause of religious equality in education? Most of our readers remember enough of the political life of the last five years to give to all of these questions such answers as could not fail to be complimentary to Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell. Yet in the rush and hurry of the time people forget many things which are worth recol-

lection; and we purpose in this narrative to recall several such things to their memories—events of deep interest and great importance to the Irish nation.

After the Dublin election nothing was heard by the public of Mr. Parnell till John Mitchel came over from America, after his long exile, to beard the British lion in his den by seeking the representation of Tipperary County. Two circumstances in connection with that event roused Charles Parnell to active sympathy on the rebel candidate's behalf. One was the opportunity given of striking a resounding blow against British domination in Ireland; the other was the indomitable, unconquerable spirit of Mitchel himself, so near akin to Mr. Parnell's own. On this occasion he emerged from the privacy into which he had retired after the Dublin County election, in an admirably written letter to the papers, announcing his hearty approbation of Mitchel's course, and giving £25 towards the expenses of the contest which Mr. Stephen Moore of Barna forced on "the premier county."

Tipperary put Mitchel at the head of the poll by an immense majority, but he died, alas! in the arms of victory. At his funeral his brother-in-law, political colleague, and fellow-convict, John Martin, was seized with a mortal illness, and within a week followed him to the grave. John Martin's death took place the 29th of March, 1875.

Ireland was stricken with sorrow; but Meath County bewailed a special loss, for in gentle John Martin she had had a representative as honest and earnest, as upright and firm, as ever championed the cause of "Ireland a nation" in the London House of Commons. To find a fitting successor for such a man was no easy task; but by a happy stroke of fortune Charles Stewart Parnell, having been recommended by the council of the Home Rule League, was adopted as the popular candidate by a large representative meeting of the electorate. Another Home Ruler, a solicitor of much local influence, opposed him; and a Tory gentleman of the county, beholding a prospect of division in the national ranks, and fancying that he might be able to slip into the seat through the split, also took the field. When, on the 19th of April, 1875, the votes having been counted, the declaration of the poll was made, it was found that the numbers were — Charles Stewart Parnell, Home Ruler, 1,771; J. L. Naper, Tory, 902; J. T. Hinds, Home Ruler, 138; from which figures it will be seen that the mass of the electors refused to play the game of the common enemy by fighting among themselves.

There was tremendous rejoicing in Royal Meath over the victory. Enthusiastic crowds assembled in thousands to give vent to a common feeling of delight; bonfires blazed in many quarters; and the populace of Trim, in which town the declara-

tion of the poll had been made, having discovered Mr. Parnell walking down from the parochial house to his hotel, laid lovingly violent hands on him, carried him in triumph round their own special bonfire in the market square, and finally set him standing on the head of a cask to speak a few words to them. To those acquainted with the Irish nature it is unnecessary to say that no such wild familiarity would have been taken with him if during the course of his canvass he had not become a popular favorite.

Mr. Parnell did not delay to receive congratulations on his success. Parliament was in session at the period of his election, and, moreover, the Government had just then in hands a Coercion Bill for Ireland. Mr. Joseph Gillis Biggar had determined that this proposed tyrannical enactment should be met with a stiff resistance. Therefore the new member for Meath, who meant work, not pleasure, hurried over to London, formally took his seat, and was in good time to record his first vote against the Coercion Bill on the 22d of April, 1875. As he was in Trim on the night of the 19th, it is plain that he "did not let the grass grow under his feet," to use an expressive Irish phrase.

The struggle over the Coercion Bill was stout and prolonged. Mr. Biggar began it with the famous four hours' speech which drove the assembled Commons at Westminster into alternate

flushes of rage and despair. That struggle was the first taste they had got of what has since been called "Obstruction"—a word which merely expresses briefly that it is within the power of even a few resolute Irish members of Parliament to prevent any administration from having everything its own way. That struggle further showed that even a score of resolute Irish members could at least prevent anything approaching to bad measures for their country. It remained for Mr. Parnell afterwards to prove that good measures could also be obtained by a continued pursuance of the same method.

Only on the 11th of April did the bill get through the House of Commons, after a consumption of Government time which caused in Great Britain a feeling of positive dismay. There were, of course, a large number of divisions over the various amendments proposed; and it is to be recorded to the credit of Charles Stewart Parnell that, even at the very outset of his Parliamentary career, he was present and took the Irish side, in every one of those divisions. Others there were of his colleagues, much more advanced in years, infinitely better known to the public, and possessing the full confidence of too confiding constituencies, who were absent again and again with no better cause than a desire to take their pleasure in London drawing-rooms. But he stood up to his work with a diligence from which they might have

taken example. The rest of the session passed over without anything remarkable being done by "the Irish party" in Parliament; and during that period Mr. Parnell was by far more constant in his attendance than the majority of his fellow-members. He did not address the House; but employed himself much in mastering its cumbersome and intricate forms and the rules which guide its course of procedure.

Now there was a representative of Cork city, who, having been a hot revolutionist in '48, had taken refuge under the stars and stripes, and dwelt in America for many years, in the practice of his profession of civil engineer. Having amassed a fortune, he returned to his native land, and set up his habitation on the banks of the beautiful Lee. He had profited by contact with the shrewd American mind; and when he had observed the London Commons for some time he came to a conclusion which he expressed in pretty much the following fashion:—

"You will never get them to listen to you until you begin to take as active an interest in English affairs as they take in Irish ones. I am too old to have the necessary energy for the work. Why don't some of you young fellows try it?"

The man who said this was generally spoken of with affectionate familiarity as "Honest Joe Ronayne." Peace to his ashes! He died in the

Spring of 1876. He loved Ireland well, and served her well too, and will be long borne in her grateful memory.

Charles Parnell heard the saying, and pondered deeply on it. The more he thought of it the more it appeared like a revelation; until at length he determined that, since the practised speakers among the Irish members seemed to shrink from the labor involved, he himself would test the wisdom of Joe Ronayne's dictum. With this view he set himself to looking out for some Government measure in which he could take a tremendous interest. He eventually chose the English Prisons Bill, which proposed to hand over the management of local prisons to the executive; and he made the selection with a view to first modifying it to his desires, and afterwards insisting that the Irish Prisons Bill which was to follow should be modelled on the precedent thus afforded. For it occurred to Mr. Parnell that the time of political prosecutions in Ireland had not yet passed away, and that it would be wise to prepare for occurrences of the kind, to the extent at least of saving those convicted of sedition from the indignities and maltreatment to which theretofore they had been invariably subjected in Irish jails.

We have previously intimated that Mr. Parnell had little or no experience in public speaking. From native modesty, or a diffidence in his own



powers, he shrank from obtruding himself on audiences accustomed to being addressed by orators, rhetoricians, and practised debaters. But to carry out the scheme of tactics which was slowly maturing in his mind it was absolutely needful to gain such experience; and to the task he began to set himself at the beginning of the Parliamentary session of 1876. The strength of his purpose impelled him to surmount every obstacle that lay in his path; so he made use of the House of Commons as a debating society in which he might acquire ease and fluency of public address.

The first opportunity of which he took advantage was of a kind peculiarly grateful to him. It was supplied by the very first of the resolute struggles to which some members of the Irish Parliamentary party have since very often treated the assembled Commons of Westminster, and which have received from the newspapers the expressive designation "scenes in the House."

The "scene" to which reference is now made arose in this way. Early in each session the Commons elect members to sit on various committees having certain duties to discharge in connection with the business of the House. The Whig and Tory party leaders usually agreed beforehand on a list of members for each committee, taken impartially from the ranks of both parties in fair proportion to their respective

numbers ; with the result that when the elections came on each name was passed simply as a matter of course—such a thing as taking a division against any one being almost unheard of. The formation of a third party—the Home Rule one—disturbed the little arrangement mentioned ; and at the beginning of 1876 both Whigs and Tories combined totally to ignore the existence of that third party by drawing no members of committees from its ranks. Some of the Irish representatives made up their minds to resent this grossly unfair course of the English party managers by indiscriminately challenging every name put up for election.

Late on the night of Monday, the 6th of March, there being at the time but six members of the Irish party present—of whom, as might be expected, the ever-diligent Charles Stewart Parnell was one—a motion was made “That the select committee on referees on private bills do consist of twenty-one members.” Absurdly few as were the Home Rulers on the spot, they determined to fight the matter out with resolution, and to teach the Whig and Tory conspirators a lesson they would not soon forget. Mr. A. M. Sullivan promptly rose to his feet, and moved that the number of the committee should be twenty-three instead of twenty-one, with the object of adding on two of his own party. The gage of battle thus thrown down was quickly taken up by the

overwhelming majority furnished from the ranks of the two British parties, united for the occasion, as usual, in doing an injustice to the Irish. They won in the division of course, although on the Irish side there voted several fair-minded Englishmen — there *are* fair-minded Englishmen even in the London House of Commons — whose aid brought the Irish muster up to twenty-one.

Immediately "the scene" began. Every name put up was challenged in turn, and a division taken on it. What that meant, and how great was the loss of time it involved, will be understood when we say that previous to each division two minutes are allowed before the closing of the entrance door of the House, to allow of members rushing in from the bar, the dining-room, the smoke-room, the library, and so forth, to take part in the division, although they may not have the faintest idea of what it is about. The members are warned of each division by the ringing of bells set up for the purpose. When the door is closed, the Commons file slowly into two great corridors known as "the division lobbies," one devoted to the "ayes" and the other to the "noes." In the entrance to these lobbies stand the respective "tellers," who stop each member as he passes, and take down his name. When the names are all entered, they are very carefully counted, all return to the chamber where sits Mr. Speaker, and the numbers for and against are announced.

There is usually some cheering after each announcement; and when that is over the House proceeds again to business. Each division ordinarily takes about fifteen minutes.

From the above it will easily be seen that if a number of divisions be taken in a night, not only is "the time of the House" consumed but a good deal of enforced pedestrianism falls to the lot of members, many of whom from one cause or other may not be very well able to walk, especially in the small hours of the morning. And it was precisely to such consumption of time and such enforced pedestrianism the resolute Irish six condemned their unscrupulous Whig and Tory opponents. Naturally these latter became annoyed under the punishment they were receiving, and a good deal of temper was displayed. It is in the midst of one of the short but warm discussions of the night that we find the first record of Mr. Parnell addressing his fellow Commoners. The hour was one at which Parliamentary reporters do not trouble themselves to take down the sayings of members in full, therefore the record is extremely brief; but one phrase of it is so characteristic of Mr. Parnell that there is hardly room for doubt that it was reported in the exact words which fell from his lips. The report goes: —

"Mr. Parnell said they had deliberately adopted this course, and *they would stick to it.*"

Significant words indeed, if his hearers but knew their full meaning when coming from him. And stick to it he did. Respect for not a name on the list was shown. Division followed division with a regularity beyond all praise. The weary Britishers walked in and out of their lobby muttering execrations on the heads of those obstinate Irish who still kept up the battle, and would not acknowledge themselves vanquished. The counting of British noses was a toilsome process, there were so many of them. On the Irish side the counting was easy indeed, for their English allies fell away after the first division, and the Home Rule tellers had only five names to put down; after the twelfth the number fell to three.

A compromise was suggested; but the Britishers, who would have been glad to agree to it an hour earlier, were now thoroughly irate; in defiance of Dr. Watts, they had "let their angry passions rise;" and with their tremendous majority they were resolved not to give way an inch. Appeals were made to the Irish to cease a hopeless struggle; and then, we read in the report:—

"Mr. Parnell said the compromise had been refused, and the fight should go on."

And on it went steadily; the Irish cool but determined, the Britishers wild with rage, and now and again giving angry vent to their excited feelings. The gallant Major O'Gorman led his di-

vision of three into the lobby, having called on the honorable member for Meath to be his co-teller. The honorable member for Meath gladly obliged his honorable and gallant friend. The thirteenth division was taken, and still the fight was not at an end. The fourteenth followed, and then the fifteenth; and when, at a quarter past four in the morning, the result of the sixteenth was announced, the angriest Whig or Tory of them all had been brought to his senses. Though the names proposed were every one carried, and in that sense the Britishers might congratulate themselves on winning several petty successes, yet the end for which the few Irish struggled was achieved—the exclusion of members of their party had to be given up—the attempt to ignore the existence of a distinct third party in the House was defeated—and in that sense, the true one, victory was with the Irish, their operations had been successful, and they had conquered all along the line.

It was during this session of 1876 that Mr. Parnell began to cultivate that devotion to the Governmental estimates for which he afterwards became so distinguished. There were many “great debates” got up that year by the Home Rule party—field-day displays which gave the do-nothings an opportunity of posing before their constituents as zealous servants, through the easy means of letting off in the House elaborate speeches to which no one paid any attention during their deliverance,

but which were pretty certain to find their way into the columns of the Irish press, and to receive therein an amount of space which gave them a solid, substantial, responsible look, calculated to impress the minds of admiring but extremely simple electors to the West of St. George's Channel. Of course we are not to be understood as attributing no value whatever to such debates. On the contrary, they have their use, and are indeed at times necessary. But if there ends the work of Irish members in the English Parliament the advantage of the field-days is small indeed. Mr. Parnell allowed any one who chose to take a prominent part in those displays. For himself he did not care for them. He saw that hypocrites systematically made use of them for the purpose of throwing dust in the eyes of their constituencies, so he merely closed his lips more tightly, and waited with what patience he might for the crushing defeat sure to follow on the division—for which, however, he took care to be on hand. But he did active work when the House went into committee, and contrived to make himself, by sheer practice, an excellent debater. And when he felt the needful confidence in himself he proposed on his own responsibility a motion in favor of the political prisoners, which he supported in a telling speech, powerful not only in argument but in the unusual boldness of the tone which struck the ears of the British Commons. The date of this

effort to redeem the pledge regarding amnesty, given in his earliest address as a Parliamentary candidate, was the 22nd of May, 1876.

In his speech on this occasion — which may be regarded as his first sustained effort at speech-making — he made such references to the trials consequent on the rescue of Kelly and Deasy from the police van at Manchester as startled most of his hearers. One of them, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, bore Mr. Parnell's remarks bitterly in mind; and when, in the Home Rule debate on the 30th June, the torpid English baronet rose to speak against the Irish claim, he lugged in by the horns, as it were, a direct allusion to what Mr. Parnell had said on the 22nd of May previously. This proceeding of Secretary Beach was a distinct breach of a rule of the London House of Commons which prohibits members from referring to any previous debate of the same session; yet, singular to relate, he was not called to order by any authority of the assembly. However, Sir Michael of the retentive memory but little knew at that time the kind of man whom he had singled out for a thrust. He, as well as every one of his colleagues, is better informed by now, and none, we fancy, would go out of his way to assail the honorable member for Meath. Even at that time the baronet was not allowed to remain long undeceived; for Mr. Parnell rose



to his feet on the instant, interrupted Sir Michael, and calmly retorted as follows : —

“ The right honorable gentleman looked at me so directly when he said he regretted that any member of this House should apologize for murder, that I wish to say, as publicly and directly as I can, that I do not believe, and never shall, that any murder was committed at Manchester.”

It will be remembered that it was the fate of the Manchester Three which first set Mr. Parnell thinking seriously of Ireland and her unhappy destinies ; and at no time since has he been prepared to listen silently to any defamation concerning them. The imprudent Secretary, on hearing the observation quoted above, seemed for a while like one who had received a good box on the ear ; he stammered out a Parliamentary paraphrase of “ I didn’t know you’d take it that way, I’m sure ; ” and then, carefully avoiding any further allusion to either the Manchester cases or the honorable member for Meath, addressed himself to his subject proper.

One other feature of Mr. Parnell’s conduct during this session of 1876 deserves notice here. He attended strictly to party discipline. Whenever there were meetings of the Irish party he was present ; whatever the decision arrived at by the majority he helped to carry it out. Nay, on occasions — and there was at least one — when Mr. Butt earnestly wished his followers to abstain

altogether from voting on Imperial questions, so as to preserve intact the individuality of the party, and to exhibit its strength conspicuously to both Whigs and Tories ; and when men like MacCarthy, Downing and Major O'Gorman obstinately refused to be led by their leader, and insisted on their right to vote with the English party of their choice ; Mr. Parnell was one of the small faithful band who followed Mr. Butt in a body out of the chamber when the bells for the division were set a-ringing ; as, for instance, after the debate on the proclamation giving to Queen Victoria the title of Empress of India — a debate which came off on the 11th of May, 1876.

Yet at the very time that Mr. Parnell, for the sake of union, submitted so willingly to the bonds of party discipline, and obeyed with such alacrity the wishes expressed by the party leader, he was conscious that all was not well in that organization, and he had already begun a kind of guerilla warfare against the House of Commons, in conjunction with his staunch friend and ally, sturdy Joseph Biggar, one of the members for Cavan. He was also projecting a sterner struggle for the next session. He had mastered the "rules of the House ;" he had had practice in debate, both in Parliament and in the consulting rooms of the Irish party ; his diffidence had been torn away in the conflicts wherein he had engaged ; self-consciousness had been driven off, and in its stead

there remained only the rapidly growing power of his unflinching purpose. His laborious attendance in Parliament for several consecutive months compelled a brief rest for a couple of weeks in June ; but he was back in his place in time for the Land Bill and for the Home Rule debate in which he so bewildered Sir Michael Hicks-Beach towards the end of that month.

So far he was comparatively unknown to the general Irish public ; but keen observers of political events had noted his course ; and when, in the August of 1876, the Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain, to test the practical value of the Irish Convention Act, since repealed, determined to hold their annual convention in Dublin, it was Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell who was put into the second chair at their public meeting in the evening, when the vote of thanks was proposed to Isaac Butt for presiding, although there were several other members of Parliament present, whose age and acknowledged standing in the political world were much beyond Mr. Parnell's.

During the Winter of 1866-7 he reflected much on Joe Ronayne's pithy saying, and gradually improved his plan of operations against the anti-Irish majority in the London House of Commons. While still adhering to his intention to take an active interest in purely English affairs, he saw his way also to working successfully for the benefit of Irish ones. Since the formation of the Irish

party a sessional "rule of the House" had been framed to prevent measures from going forward a stage after half-past twelve at night if notice of opposition of any kind had been formally given. It seemed to be a most innocent rule—a rule devised to let members go off home to bed at some approach to reputable hours—a rule, in fact, with which no respectable man, be he member of Parliament or not, could quarrel. As a matter of fact, however, it was employed to stay the passage of the various bills brought in by the Irish party; notice of opposition having been promptly given to every one of them, while other bills of all kinds remained unopposed. The rule had been found to work so well in the way intended that it was again triumphantly passed at the opening of the session of 1877. Forthwith Mr. Parnell and Mr. Biggar indiscriminately gave formal notice of opposition to a score of English and Imperial bills, by which simple tactical proceeding they brought them all under the operation of the half-past twelve rule, and so checkmated the wily British schemers. The cry of "obstruction" was at once raised by those injured innocents; vague but dreadful punishments on the offending pair were darkly menaced in the British prints; cold looks from the majority of their own colleagues, and angry ones from the great mass of British members, met Messrs. Parnell and Biggar for their spirited but most natural action; everything was

done by friend and foe alike to make their position most unpleasant; yet, though they did not revel, as Mark Tapley might have done, in the annoyances that incessantly met them—indeed, if the plain truth is to be told, they felt the bolts keenly enough when shot by their own colleagues—they held persistently in the course on which they had entered, and dug a deep grave for that “rule of the House” which had been so craftily utilized to hamper the bills brought in by the Irish party.

It is quite possible—nay, even probable—that there are many people who believe that Mr. Parnell’s zeal in the cause of Irish peasant-proprietorship is a new thing—that the idea is one he suddenly adopted merely to gain access of popularity—that, in short, he had no real conviction on the question when early in 1879 he began to advocate it so strenuously. Well, to such doubters of his good faith in the matter we commend the fact that on the 14th of February, 1877, he urged the British House of Commons to assent to the second reading of a bill whose provisions were wholly directed towards making more easy the conversion of tenant-farmers into peasant-proprietors. The title of the bill was “The Irish Church Act Amendment Bill;” and its sole object was to amend the Church Disestablishment Act in such a way that those tenants who held the glebe lands should have much greater facilities

and inducements for becoming owners than the Act originally afforded. His able statement converted a great many British members to his views. In the division 110 followed him into the lobby, of whom but 39 were his party colleagues. Only 150 in all voted against his bill. Though he did not win a complete victory over British prejudice, he helped very materially to bring the principle of Irish peasant-proprietorship to the front; and in any case he then put beyond question the good faith of his subsequent advocacy of that solution of the Irish land problem.

Before reverting to Mr. Parnell's Parliamentary career in 1877—which was a most notable one indeed—we must refer, however briefly, to a very interesting event in which he figured prominently, and which could not but have had some effect, not only on the results of his American mission in 1879, but also in deepening and widening the kindly relations between Ireland and the United States. In the Autumn of 1876 the project was mooted of sending from the Irish people a congratulatory address to the States on the centenary of their independence. It was known in Ireland that the people of the Union meant to celebrate that glorious hundredth anniversary with unparalleled displays of public rejoicing; and with those rejoicings the Irish, so long suffering from the loss of their own independence, could more than any other people in Europe keenly sympa-

thize. It was resolved to put that sympathy in evidence in a form that would endure. No sooner was the project mooted in the press than its promoters found it so warmly and widely taken up that they conceived they had absolutely national sanction for the undertaking. An enormous mass meeting of the citizens of the Irish metropolis adopted the address "from the Irish nation," which was inscribed to President Grant as the chief representative of the Union. Messrs. Parnell and O'Connor Power were deputed as the bearers of this historical document, which was richly illuminated on parchment and splendidly framed.

The two gentlemen proceeded on their mission towards the close of 1876. Arrived at their destination they found themselves confronted by obstacles which hindered them from fulfilling the trust confided to them. President Grant declined to receive the address from its bearers. If he should accept it at all on behalf of the American people it should come through the British ambassador at Washington. It was roundly asserted at the time that the said ambassador had himself raised this difficulty for the two Irish envoys. However that may be, Messrs. Parnell and Power could see nothing but a wild incongruity in presenting through a British ambassador an address congratulating a people on having been fortunate enough to fling off the British

yoke, and coming from a people who were themselves struggling to get rid of British domination. The President stood firm in the position he had taken up. The two Irishmen would on no account agree to the condition he imposed; and to ordinary observers it seemed as if the mission must turn out a conspicuous failure.

But those who knew something of Mr. Parnell's energy and readiness of resource did not believe he would be so easily baffled; nor were they mistaken. Cancelling the illuminated parchment brought from Dublin, he got another illuminated, paying for it from his own purse; and in this copy of the address he substituted for the superscription to President Grant one to the people of the States. This he determined to have accepted, if possible, by the House of Representatives at Washington. In the end his change of tactics proved eminently successful; although, being anxious to prove his new scheme of policy against the tyrant majority in the British House of Commons, he recrossed the Atlantic before the reception of the address by Congress.

The session of 1877 was the most memorable for extraordinary scenes in British Parliamentary history. Beginning with the opposition of Messrs. Parnell and Biggar to "the half-past twelve rule," and concluding with the famous twenty-two hours' debate on the South African Bill, there occurred a succession of unexampled episodes, in every one



of which Mr. Parnell was a prominent figure. It was from no love of notoriety that the energetic member for Meath took such a conspicuous part in those unusual proceedings. We have already said that he knew that all was not well with the Home Rule party. The utter indifference to the interests of their country, displayed by the majority of them, was a perpetual goad to him. Other members of the party also had been galled by that indifference — Mr. Biggar notably so. Mr. A. M. Sullivan had commented on it in the press as delicately as he might, only with the effect of evoking a tumult against himself from those whose consciences pointed them out as culprits. Even Mr. Butt, although he totally disapproved of the new tactics inaugurated by Messrs. Parnell and Biggar, was yet most painfully aware of the want of earnestness and genuineness of too many of his followers. In private he often spoke bitterly about the discouraging fact; and once at least he gave vent to his feelings in public. At a banquet given to him in Dublin in the first week of February, 1877, he alluded, in the course of a magnificent speech, to the remissness of the majority of the party, in terms which it must prove interesting to the reader to have now recalled. He said :—

“ I hope that during the ensuing session we shall have a full attendance of Irish members — such an attendance as shall enable us to act effectively in the small hours of the morning, when discussing in Parlia-

ment the questions in which we are so interested. It is not in great parades the battle of Ireland is to be fought. The man does not serve Ireland who comes over only two or three times in the session. The cause is not served by such a man, even though he take the opportunity of making a grand speech. Many men have done far wiser in making no speeches at all, but who have been always present at the hour of need — present at any hour of the morning when their services were of material use to the cause of their country. Now I do think I have a right to ask the attention of the Irish people. Give me whole-hearted support — give me whole-hearted support — no half-hearted support — or rather, if you will, infuse into half-hearted supporters the whole of your own support; and then when the day does come, when the struggle is passed, when future generations will pronounce their judgment on the part acted by an individual so humble as myself — and believe me that the man placed in the position you place me in will occupy a place in the historic page — let me be judged fairly. If I struggle, let the Irish people struggle too, and then I will not be ashamed or look with fear to the place that my name will occupy.”

Here positively we have Mr. Parnell's views powerfully expressed; and we only can say now it was a pity that Mr. Butt, starting with the same ideas, should have veered so wide apart from his young follower in the conclusions he ultimately reached. As for Mr. Butt's appeal for whole-hearted support from the do-nothings of the party,

so far as its effect on them was concerned, it might as well have been addressed to the bricks in the walls of the room in which his speech was delivered. His sentiments were cheered to the echo; nevertheless the majority of the party remained as reluctant as ever to act up to them.

Under the circumstances so referred to by the leader of the party Mr. Parnell felt himself thoroughly justified in following his own course for the benefit of Irish interests, and especially of the cause of self-government, whether with or without the approval of Mr. Butt. That able and distinguished man, astute as he was in most affairs, was yet unable to perceive the exact bearing of the new policy. He regarded it as plain and simple obstruction of the business of the House of Commons, and again and again prophesied that it would be put down. But Mr. Parnell had no notion of taking up an attitude which he could not maintain; and one of the cardinal features of the novel plan of action he had struck out — one, too, which seems wholly to have escaped Mr. Butt's notice — was to endeavor to benefit the British democracy while offering steady opposition to a British aristocratic Government. By this simple means he at once served the broad interests of humanity, incapacitated the London Parliament for speedy work, and provided an excellent and sure-acting buffer which saved himself from being crushed.

On this principle he stood while opposing the English Prisons Bill, to which embryo piece of legislation he had given very close study. All his amendments (and he proposed a great many indeed) were directed towards liberalizing the measure. He wanted to secure even criminals from brutal treatment inside the prison walls, and from being compelled by the cruelty of jailors to suffer punishments beyond those to which they had been condemned ; he wanted adequate supervision and inspection of prisons ; he wanted, above all, to save political prisoners from the degradations properly meted out in jail to the murderous burglar, the callous baby-farmer, or the beast convicted of unspeakable crimes. Amendment after amendment was proposed by him only to be lost ; and still on succeeding clauses of the bill he calmly brought up fresh amendments having in view the same or similar objects. The bill, in consequence, made little or no headway in committee ; and the wrath of the hitherto omnipotent majority steadily accumulated against the daring offender who by his audacious pertinacity was single-handed proving himself a match for hundreds.

And just now Mr. Parnell developed a singular zeal in the interests of the soldiers of Great Britain, and devoted himself with heroic constancy to the improvement of their lot by moving amendments to the Mutiny Bill—a measure which had been therefore passed annually as a mere matter

of form, and any provision of which the ordinary British member would have deemed it sacrilege to touch.

The gathering waters of rage in the end burst through the dam, and there came "a scene in the House." It was immediately after the Easter recess; the hour was advanced in the morning; Mr. Parnell had been at constant and harassing work for some ten hours; he wished to propose some new amendments on a clause about to be discussed, and, as he had not the amendments prepared, and was besides completely worn out, he made the quite reasonable suggestion that the committee should postpone its further labors to another date.

Let the reader picture to himself the scene which followed. The London House of Commons is eighty feet long by fifty wide, and is forty feet in height. The entrance door is at the foot of this spacious apartment; and, facing the door, at the head of the room, is the Speaker's chair. A T-shaped table stands in front of the Speaker's chair. Either side of the table rise up seats, tier on tier, the higher each about twelve inches above the one next below, and all lying lengthwise down the room. Scattered over those seats are some hundred members of Parliament, most of them in the regulation "full dress" of London — white tie, much shirt-front, small black waistcoat, black trousers, and black swallow-tail

coat. Many of these gentlemen have just come to the House from dinner-parties at which wine has been flowing pretty freely ; others have looked in on their way home from balls where copious libations of champagne had been offered up to pleasure. These are boisterous. On the front bench to the right of the Speaker's chair are half a dozen members of the Government, asleep or pretending to be asleep. In the chair sits the chairman of committees, flushed and angry-looking — his face suggestive of a wish to have some one laid under a Nasmyth steam-hammer in full blast. Far down the room, to the left of the chair, stands erect a slim young man, calm, composed, gentlemanly, undemonstrative either in voice or gesture, and he is striving to address the House. The convivial gentlemen converse quite loudly with each other, and in concert, as if of set purpose ; and the voice of the speaker is smothered in the noise. The chairman does not interfere. The young man persists, and raises his voice above the din, which suddenly grows twice as great as before. The speaker's pale face waxes paler still, and there is an ominously bright sparkle in his brown eyes ; further than this there is no sign that he is moved by the vulgar rudeness which assails him. He pauses, standing still erect. There comes a lull in the designed confusion ; and into that lull he interjects a sharp, clear, terse sentence, not at all conveying compliments

to the House. Then the hilarious young gentlemen of from thirty-four to forty who have been out dancing, or dining and wining, begin to display the variety of their accomplishments. Three or four, as if to emphasize that frugality of nature's gifts to them which, among their acquaintances, causes them to be set down as "asses," begin to bray. Others mimic the cries of barnyard fowl with more or less success. Some whistle as if they were lunatics who fancied themselves railway locomotives giving out a warning; some ironically shriek "yaw-yaw"—which is English for "hear, hear"; others scream "'vide, 'vide"—English for "divide, divide"; and one, a sprig of nobility, very accurately reproduces the sounds made by a man whose stomach revolts against the inordinate quantity of strong liquor with which he has overladen it.

Calmly, in spite of all, the speaker goes on whenever a moment's lull gives him a chance. He talks as argumentatively as though he were addressing a roomful of philosophers, and he does not resume his seat until he has finished the reasons which impel him to move "that the chairman do report progress"—one of the forms for bringing to an end a sitting of the House in committee.

And now occurs a regrettable incident. Mr. Butt has been taking his ease outside in one of the lobbies. Mr. Butt is genial to a fault; he is impressionable too; he is not fond of fighting at

all; he has a cordial dislike of wounding British susceptibilities; and, to crown all, in the words which Major O'Gorman once applied to him during his lifetime at a public meeting, "He is too soft with those English—he often says 'hear, hear,' when he should say 'no, no.'" Some one rushes out of the House to seek Mr. Butt, finds him, gives him a garbled account of what had been taking place inside, and induces him to come in and use his influence in putting down the terrible young man who not only stops the wheels of the Parliamentary machine, and threatens to smash it up altogether, but is also "doing incalculable damage to the Home Rule cause." How tender the regard of Englishmen just then for "the Home Rule cause!"

Mr. Butt, without thinking, and without taking the trouble to make sure that his informant had not deceived him, launches out into a denunciation of Mr. Parnell which earns for the denouncer the hearty cheers of the assembly, the aforesaid convivial young men verging on middle age included. There is great smiling in the British ranks at this episode, and much mutual congratulation. Surely Mr. Parnell will hearken to the voice of his leader; surely he is now effectually muzzled and fettered; surely they can get through their Mutiny Bill that night, and so put it beyond the power of any Irish member thereafter to busy himself in a matter so purely and entirely English.



These were "the pleasing hopes, the fond desires," in which British members indulged as Mr. Butt poured out with rapid tongue his heated utterances; and it does not seem to have occurred to any one of those members that an Irish member's right to take an active part in the settlement of purely English affairs has been, since the Union, quite as good as an English member's to take an active part in purely Irish affairs; though the latter occurs frequently every session.

But alas for those delightful speculations! Mr. Parnell, though grieved at the tone taken up by Mr. Butt, was not to be turned aside from his purpose. As it is the privilege of any member to move alternately the motions, "That the chairman do report progress," and "That the chairman do leave the chair," just so long as he chooses, it came to pass, the moment it was found that Mr. Parnell had really made up his mind to have the further consideration of the Bill postponed, that the House and the Government gave way, seeing plainly that nothing whatever was to be gained by a continuance of the fight, and that nothing could result from it but increased disorder and confusion. They had had some experience of Mr. Parnell by that time, and they had already learned that when he entered deliberately on any course he would "stick to it." The Bill was therefore held over to another date.

The wear and tear of struggling almost single-

hand against hundreds, as well as of his close and constant attendance in the House the whole time it remained sitting, began even so early in the session to tell on Mr. Parnell's health. Instead of prescribing for himself a period of rest, he sent over to Ireland for a couple of his hunters, on which he could every day take a spin in the fresh rural air, and so brace himself up physically for the hard work still before him.

Meanwhile Mr. Butt had thought proper privately to lecture Messrs. Parnell and Biggar on what he thought the folly of their course. He was annoyed with the majority of his followers for doing nothing; but he was still more annoyed with a small minority for doing what he considered too much. The members for Meath and Cavan, however, while responding courteously, declined to have their hands tied by their leader on matters outside his jurisdiction. The leader appealed to the party; and as the earnestness and activity of Messrs. Parnell and Biggar was in itself an incessant and stinging reproach to the majority for their total want of either one quality or the other, the majority naturally took sides with Mr. Butt, with the utmost alacrity, on the point in dispute.

This, of course, did not make more smooth the pathway of the two incriminated members, more especially as it gave the good-for-nothings the very excuse they wanted for staying away from

any divisions Mr. Parnell or Mr. Biggar might wish to take. Yet, on the other hand, it appears to have shamed the party into fits of action now and again; as when, on the 1st of May, by offering a prolonged resistance in the Parnell manner they compelled the Government to raise the number of the committee, on cattle plague and importation of live stock, from twenty-three to twenty-seven, for the purpose of adding to it four men of the Irish party; and likewise forced them to put on the roll of the committee a couple of names which had been at first rejected. Still further, throughout the greater part of the session the members for Meath and Cavan received most valuable aid at critical moments from some half-dozen of their colleagues, including Major O'Gorman, Major Nolan, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Mr. O'Connor Power, and Mr. G. H. Kirk.

Mr. Butt about April wrote a lengthy letter to Mr. Biggar, and subsequently another long one to Mr. Parnell, on the subject of their new patent breechloading weapon for attacking the British House of Commons. As these letters did not produce the effect for which they were ostensibly intended, he most unwisely hastened to publish them. There can be no doubt that they were originally written with a view to eventual publication. They were couched in a style meant rather for the Irish people at large than for the two gentlemen addressed. Mr. Parnell replied in an

extremely able and convincing letter, intended just as plainly for Mr. Butt's eyes only. Before, however, it was quite finished, Mr. Parnell was amazed to see both the communication he had himself received and that which had been forwarded to Mr. Biggar appearing in the columns of the Irish press. This circumstance of course left Mr. Parnell no option but to publish his reply. At that time it had been the fashion with many people who conceived themselves very owls for wisdom to speak of Mr. Parnell as a well meaning young man, but very headstrong and imprudent. We reprint here the conclusion of this letter, from which readers may be able to judge for themselves whether the balance of prudence in this controversy lay on the side of Mr. Butt or of Mr. Parnell. The passage is as follows :—

“P. S.—Since writing much of the above I find that your action in publishing your letter to Mr. Biggar, and subsequently that to myself, will necessitate the publication of this my reply. I regard your conduct in thus appealing to the public upon a matter which you have never even yet brought under the consideration of the Parliamentary party as most precipitate and deplorable, and well calculated to lead to serious dissension; but as you have taken the step I must disclaim for myself the responsibility of any damage which the knowledge of the serious charges contained in my letter may do to the Home Rule party in the minds of the public.

“C. S. P.”

Throughout all this controversy and others that followed between the parties, not one uncourteous word fell from Mr. Parnell's lips or pen in respect to Isaac Butt. He conducted his arguments with unimpeachable gentlemanliness throughout; and even when the great old man, then fast declining towards the grave, had sunk in the popular estimation, Mr. Parnell never wrote or spoke of him a single syllable that could rankle in his heart or cause him a personal pang. The consequence was that till the last, however much he disapproved of his policy, Isaac Butt cherished a sincere respect for Mr. Parnell.

As was to be expected, Mr. Butt's attacks on Messrs. Parnell and Biggar, and their defences, when given to the public, created no little sensation, not only in Ireland, but in Great Britain also. The press of the latter country patted the leader of the Home Rule party on the back, and found out numerous good qualities in him which it had not before discovered. There was joy in the British camp; for was not the old delightful game of Irish dissension being played as charmingly as ever? Mr. Butt was a very distinguished man; he had experience; he knew what "the tone of the House" was; he respected its traditions; his great ability enabled him to see how damaging even to Irish interests was the course on which Parnell and his friends, men without brains or experience, had entered; though un-

fortunately he had lent himself to a scheme which threatened "the integrity of the empire," he was yet at heart a constitutionalist. Such was the style of comment bestowed on him by his new patrons, the London editors; and as, in truth, he really believed the most of it, his anxiety to shackle the active men was not thereby lessened.

In Ireland, however, a widely different kind of comment began to prevail. Though in the pro-British and the trimming journals abuse or deprecation of "obstruction" was a staple topic, all the organs of national opinion which had earned a character for honesty in the past encouraged Mr. Parnell and his auxiliaries to persevere. Elderly people, wealthy people, "loyal" people, and people by nature timid, in addition to the old women of both sexes, alarmed by Mr. Butt's denunciations of the new policy as "revolutionary," shrieked out against it; but the mass of the nation, who in all probability saw nothing in it then but a means of punishing the British Parliament for its confirmed hostility to Irish rights, promptly ranged themselves on the side of Parnell and Biggar. In this state of affairs Mr. Butt, having failed to achieve the purpose intended by the publication of his letters to those gentlemen, convened for the 16th of June a meeting of the Irish Parliamentary party to take the "obstruction" question into consideration.

Meanwhile, undeterred by the storms gathering around them from opposite quarters, the few adherents of this "revolutionary" policy went steadily on in their course. As at a bull-baiting the remorseless dog seizes his enormous antagonist by the lip, pinning his head to the ground, and with iron jaws holds him immovable and helpless, so they held the House of Commons in an inexorable gripe, overmastering, persistent, unrelaxing. The House might bellow as much as it liked, and bellow outrageously it did pretty often, but that was nearly the utmost it could do. Now Mr. Parnell worried it on the question of the release of the political prisoners; now on the corrupting employment of secret service money in Ireland; now on the Irish Judicature Bill; now on the Irish County Courts Bill; now on the army estimates; and so on. Whatever the measure the Government might bring on, a watchful wide-awake Irish half-dozen were present to see that it received proper discussion. And here it may be remarked that one of the rare occasions on which Mr. Parnell was called to order occurred in a contest with the House on the 1st of May, 1877, over the nomination of Mr. Biggar to a place on the cattle-plague inquiry committee. Some paltry snob of an Englishman had the audacity to sneer at Mr. Biggar for being in trade. At this insult to his fast friend and consistent colleague the hidden fire of Mr. Parnell's nature

flamed forth. That mode of personal attack is essentially an offensively vulgar one ; while Charles Stewart Parnell, from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot, is a gentleman every inch. In denouncing the British snob the warmth of his feelings caused him to forget his customary prudence, and he twice fell foul of the "rules of the House." Very few gentlemen of any country would think anything the worse of him for this rare exhibition of loss of perfect self-control. Most Irishmen, we fancy, would emphatically pronounce the throwing of prudence to the winds under such circumstances to be "a good fault."

Once again, a little later on, he was hurried into excitement during a debate on the Irish political prisoners. Home Secretary Cross had denied that there were any then in durance. The Fenian soldiers still held he described as military prisoners ; O'Meara Condon and Meledy as murders ; and Mr. Michael Davitt as an ordinary convict. Such a classification of men, whose real crime in British eyes was notoriously their connection with an organization which aimed at the overthrow of British rule in Ireland, stung Mr. Parnell to the quick ; therefore he rose to reply to Mr. Cross, and to expose his misrepresentations. Although a newspaper correspondent described him on that occasion as speaking "with the placidity and gentleness of demeanor, and in the cultivated accents, which are the marvel of strangers who are shown



for the first time the terrible twin obstructive," the outward calm but hid a volcanic working beneath, and after a few sharp sentences, brimming over with indignation, yet couched in language of the kind considered not inadmissible in that temple of manners, the London House of Commons, he was compelled by the strength of his emotions to bring his remarks to a close with the statement that he could not trust himself to speak further. And the stolid British majority, who had been accustomed to think him in nature as not unlike one of themselves, incapable of warm sympathies or generous feelings, received that statement with derisive shouts of "Oh!" The broader purpose of working out his tactics skilfully — the only way in which they could be worked — made him check himself before he had infringed his privileges as a member of Parliament; and in a little while after, on the same night, he was able to assail, with the most absolute self-control, but with a sharpness which was certainly not blunted by Secretary Cross' earlier observations on Irish political prisoners, the whole system of spies and "informers" in Ireland, in a debate which he raised on the estimates for "secret service money."

The 16th of June came; and oh! what a flocking to the London chambers of the Irish party there was of its members. It had got bruited among them that Parnell and Biggar and the other troublesome persons who wanted activity

and earnestness and courage in Irish members of Parliament were now at last to be definitely squelched. Men whom the most urgent requisition of their leader could not bring thither when it was only a question of taking counsel how best to forward some Irish interest in Parliament, were prompt in attendance when the object in view was the highly important one of annihilating such exhibitions of zeal in the country's service as were a standing reproach to those members who did not care one jot about the country or its interests so long as confiding constituencies could be found to elect political hypocrites to represent them. The do-nothings turned up in alarming force at the meeting, now at last resolved to "do something"—not for Ireland; oh! no! but for the ridding their own precious selves of a perpetual annoyance. The contrast between activity and indolence, between earnestness and indifference, between steady application to Parliamentary duty and almost equally steady neglect of it—this was setting up a totally new example, establishing an alarming precedent, instilling into the minds of Irish electors the pernicious notion that they ought to expect real service from their representatives; and of course the sooner such a monstrous conception of political duty was smothered the better. To those London chambers of the Irish party also crowded the old Whigs who had masqueraded as Home Rulers at the general

election of 1874, and who, so long as a Tory Government was in office, might be depended on to appear pretty constantly in opposition to it—whether as followers of Isaac Butt or of the Marquis of Hartington mattered but little for the time. To the same chamber came also the more limited number of Tories who had donned the Home Rule cloak to secure election, but who were equally anxious with the two other classes to put down the men that were lunatic or idiotic enough to keep Ireland—Ireland only—in view in the British Parliament.

Yet it is somewhat consoling to remember that a very considerable number of the Irish Parliamentary party who were not able conscientiously to accept the new policy, or did not quite understand all its bearings, made it their business to attend this meeting of the 16th of June, 1877, to interpose themselves between the “too active” minority and the too idle majority. Their well-meant services, however, were not needed at the time. Isaac Butt was no fool. He found on this occasion forty of his nominal followers surrounding him—a number by far greater than he could ordinarily gather around him in what he deemed crises of the very first importance in Irish affairs. He knew, too, how reedlike was the support afforded him by many of those who had answered with such unusual alacrity his present summons. And he knew that the one complaint he had to make

against the Parnell and Biggar handful was what he unfortunately considered too much zeal. Consequently, when they explained the motives which had moved them in the Parliamentary action to which he took exception, and corrected the false impression of it which he had conceived, there was an end for the moment of all controversy. No resolution condemnatory of them was passed ; but instead was one inculcating the need of more frequent meetings of the party, so as to secure more unity and greater activity in its proceedings. Vain hopes ! delusive dreams ! Wild horses, untamed elephants, could not have dragged back again to those chambers wherein that resolution was unanimously voted several of those who assented to it that day. They had gone there to assist in putting down inconvenient activity ; in the turn that affairs took they were left only the alternative of exposing their hypocrisy or agreeing to the resolution ; they chose the latter course, but apparently with a mental reservation which gave them liberty to exempt themselves from the scope of the resolution. At all events, the rooms of the party were but seldom afterwards enlightened with their presence.

The wonderful effect of this famous meeting in restraining those whom it was called together to handcuff will presently be seen. A few days after it was held, however, an event happened which contributed to give some extraordinary develop-

ments to the new Irish policy in the British Parliament. This was the election of Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell as member for Dungarvan on the 23d of June, 1877.

Mr. O'Donnell was a graduate of the Queen's College, Galway, and a man of varied accomplishments and much ability, who had gravitated towards the London press. For years he had waged relentless war against the mixed system of education, especially as illustrated in the Queen's Colleges; and year after year he had undeviatingly attended the convocation of the Queen's University to assail, generally single-handed, in the teeth of an adverse majority, its fundamental principle. As he never had more than one supporter on these occasions, and usually had not even one; and as the other members of convocation, from the occupant of the chair to the youngest graduate, were zealous adherents of the "mixed system," it is easy to see what hardihood he must have had to stand up for the right in a gathering so completely adverse, and to fancy what hootings, jeerings, clamor of all kinds—to say nothing of perpetual calls to order by the chairman—he had to endure.

One who had received such rough but suitable training was eminently a man for the new Parliamentary policy; and as if by natural instinct Mr. O'Donnell took to it. He became at once, and continued to be, one of the most efficient of Mr.

Parnell's aids. There was no fear whatever that the wildest tumult of the London Commons would put him down. As the stormy petrel is at home when elemental fury is at its highest, so was Mr. O'Donnell amid the hurricane rage of a bitterly hostile assembly.

He had formally taken his seat but a few days when he gave his fellow Commoners a taste of his quality. The date was the night of the 2nd July, or rather the morning of the 3d. The hour was one o'clock. The occasion was the wish of the few watchful, industrious Irish members present to protest against the denial to Ireland of volunteer corps. The opportunity afforded was the vote for the British volunteers in the army estimates.

At one o'clock in the morning, Captain Nolan (who has since attained the rank of Major), whose courage and fidelity are worthy of all honor, opened the ball by moving "that the chairman do report progress." His object was to secure the bringing on of the vote for the British volunteers at an hour when a discussion on the Irish side of the question could be raised with effect; it being notorious that in the small hours of the morning the British Commons are utterly impatient of and adverse to discussion, wanting to have done with business of any kind, however important, and to go home to bed; and it being almost equally notorious that Government business which is likely

to evoke discussion, comes on, by some singular chance, at those same small hours.

And here it may be remarked that the essence of what is now commonly called the Parnell policy consists in having, on every occasion when it is brought in play, a distinct, appreciable, and reasonable purpose. Its strength lies in the fact that, while every form of Parliament is to be availed of, nothing is to be done blindly, or without an object readily comprehensible by at least the leaders of the House. It is elastic also as well as strong, for it can be employed on every variety of topic that can come before the Commons at Westminster. Also—since the Union compels the return of Irish members to the British Parliament—so long as the Union lasts (and that is to say, so long as Irish members are sent to that Parliament), there is no possible way of checking the employment of that policy, even a little, except by restricting the liberties of British members themselves. For the Act of Union puts Irish members on precisely the same footing as those of Great Britain; and any distinction made between them would tear up the last shred of that Act. Even the alternative of ejecting from the House obnoxious individual Irish members, while a precedent full of evil possibilities for the British themselves, would be useless in presence of a determined spirit in the Irish constituencies; since the seats made vacant could be easily filled—and

would certainly be in such circumstances — by men who would very soon be at least as obnoxious. Again, with half a hundred members working in concert on the principles invented by Mr. Parnell, it would even be impossible to single out individual members for censure or punishment; and therefore a really resolute Irish party might triumphantly exclaim to the most intolerant British majority that ever existed since 1801, "Now, infidel, I have thee on the hip!" In short, even to cripple "obstruction," carried out systematically and skilfully by only a score of members acting on a common understanding, the majority must cripple themselves also, must part with valuable privileges, materially impair not only the prestige and the freedom of the London Parliament, but its strength as a bulwark of English liberties as well, and surrender portion of its power of resisting the encroachments of tyranny.

There were over a hundred British members in the House, the Home Rulers were but seven in all, when Captain Nolan rose to his feet. The British majority resented the intrusion of Irish members in their affairs. But the Irish, few as they were, were resolved to win. Captain Nolan having withdrawn his motion, Mr. O'Connor Power took it up. Of course he was beaten on a division. Mr. O'Donnell promptly rose to move "that the chairman do leave the chair." A hideous din greeted him as he went on to speak to



his motion. Some of the gentlemen of "the first assembly in the world" began those imitations of the speech of the lower animals at which they are such adepts; others laughed loudly in derision; others, again, indulged in inarticulate shouts; and others still, as the tremendous uproar went on, exclaimed, "let us see how much he will stand." Such terms as "hypocritical," "shabby," and such choice flowers of rhetoric as "pigs could obstruct," were bandied about amid the tumult of the night; and the chairman of committees, alarmed at the state of violent disorder to which the House in its anger had reduced itself, interposed sharply several times to restrain the more violent, and even threatened to bring the beastly conduct of one "noble lord" before the House. The great British Parliament, in fact—the model of representative institutions all over the world—had been turned for the nonce into a Bedlam.

Those who were anxious to know how much Mr. O'Donnell "could stand" soon discovered that he could stand a great deal indeed. When he had been on his legs about half an hour, and a partial lull in the storm had been obtained through the chairman's exertions, he paralyzed his British audience by coolly observing that as they had not been able to hear his remarks it would be necessary to make them over again. And he was as good as his word. He began his speech anew, and unconcernedly went over the whole ground he

had before traversed ; and when at a quarter past two he resumed his seat he had infused into the breasts of his would-be tormentors a feeling ludicrously akin to positive terror.

The House had been gradually receiving accessions during these proceedings until the majority reached about one hundred and fifty. The Irish still fought on. Some British members, unwilling to give way to the audacious Hibernian handful, yet anxious to go home, had the House "counted," but when forty members were found to be present the sitting went on. Major O'Gorman followed Mr. O'Donnell with a motion "that the chairman report progress;" when *he* was beaten Mr. O'Connor Power moved "that the chairman leave the chair;" when *he* was beaten Mr. Richard Power moved that progress be reported; when *he* was beaten Mr. Parnell moved the chairman out of the chair; when *he* was beaten Mr. O'Connor Power moved to report progress. Thus the British majority were kept marching and countermarching in and out of the division lobby pretty actively for an hour.

About this time, three o'clock having been reached, the chairman felt that unsupported nature could not sustain itself in such distressing circumstances, so he had refreshments brought to him into the House, and consumed them with what relish he could at the table in front of the chair. The Speaker, whose office compelled him to wait

for the formal adjournment of the sitting, was asleep in another chamber. Much talk went on, much bandying of more or less polite abuse, much crimination and recrimination; and in the meantime the short Summer night had slipped away, the morning sun was streaming in through the windows, and at four o'clock the gas was turned off. During the talk two other efforts to count out the House had been made without effect. The marching and countermarching began again. Mr. Parnell moved to report progress; Mr. O'Donnell that the chairman leave the chair. These were followed in quick succession by corresponding motions from Mr. O'Connor Power, Major O'Gorman, and Mr. Richard Power; when another effort to count out the House was made; but still there were found over forty brave Britons who would perish on the spot rather than surrender.

The divisions had been going on in a grim, business-like way for an hour, when Mr. Parnell remarked that Irish questions were treated there in a half-contemptuous way, and that by determined action they would force on the House the duty of treating them properly. Whereupon an English member, rejoicing in the name of Blake, rather irrelevantly retorted that Mr. Parnell had spoken disrespectfully of Mr. Speaker; to which charge Mr. Parnell, in calm accents, gave a "distinct denial" and "the flattest contradiction." A hurricane of uproar and confusion supervened;

and when the chairman had calmed it down somewhat the walking in and out of the lobbies recommenced. Mr. Richard Power and Mr. Parnell moved the usual motions. Another futile effort was made for a count-out; then the division on Mr. Parnell's motion was taken, and announced at five minutes to seven. Mr. O'Connor Power at once moved that progress be reported. Some talk ensued, in the course of which Sir John Lubbock complained that only five Irish members pursued this unprecedented course; whereupon Mr. Parnell enlivened matters by playfully reminding him that there is luck in odd numbers; and Mr. Whalley—kindly old soul that he was, even if sometimes wrong-headed—who had manfully stood by the Irishmen all the livelong night, threw in a scrap of the comic element by censuring Ministers for having kept them there all night "at the risk of their lives."

The House was again counted. Only thirty-six were found present; so the Speaker was roused from his slumbers and came into the Commons chamber. Having again counted the House, and found only thirty present, he declared the sitting adjourned.

It is now twelve minutes past seven. The warm glare of the July morning fills the large apartment; and there, "like eagles in the sun, the Irish stand," cheering loudly—"the field is fought and won." They have gained their point.

By sheer resolution and endurance they have beaten the domineering British majority.

As may be supposed, the all-night contest of the 3rd July, and the Irish victory in which it resulted, roused to a white heat of fury the indignant blood of every true Briton. "If this kind of thing is to go on," was the universal cry from Land's End to John-o'-Groats, "what is to become of the most venerated of our institutions? Parliament will be brought into permanent contempt; its prestige is already fearfully lowered; its *morale* has even now received alarming shocks from which it must take time to recover; and where will it all end if 'obstruction' be persisted in? Why, the Irish will be virtual dictators of the House. They will destroy it altogether, or compel it to let go its grasp on their country."

British editors, in especial, saw all this quite clearly, and for weeks did not tire of ringing the changes on it. Not only in the London but in the provincial press rabid leaders against "the obstructives" were every-day occurrences. "Obstruction" should be put down with a high hand; it should be stamped out, etc., etc. This was the burden of their monotonous song. But how? The question was a greater puzzle than the riddle of the Sphinx in the antique days. All the writers sagely and solemnly asseverated that "*something* should be done;" but not one of them could discover what that something could possibly be. The

incriminated members had simply exercised the privileges of their position. It was patent that to punish them for so doing would not only wear an ugly look in foreign eyes, but would establish a bad precedent which might afterwards be employed to the detriment of British liberties. There could be no possibility of hiding from the nations abroad aught in connection with scenes which had attracted the gaze of the civilized world; nor does history offer any guarantee that there may not soon arise a designing British Minister of Imperial proclivities, misleading genius, and mastery of base arts, who, backed by a blind majority, would not scruple to use any weapon he found ready to his grasp to crush a handful struggling in the House of Commons to preserve the rights so hardly won for themselves by the British people. Therefore the efforts made to crack the exceedingly hard nut of "obstruction" got no farther in the press than that "something should be done."

But if the editors were furious, what term can describe the feelings surging in the breasts of the mass of members of Parliament? If howling and clamor, and all the ways of a cowardly mob, short of actual personal violence, could vanquish the Irish enemy, there would have been a speedy end to the trouble. Those rude weapons, however, had been tried and been found of no avail. Nevertheless it was clear that "something should be done;" so the active brain of one Mr. Puleston —

who strangely blends in himself British membership, Yankee birth and connections, and violent Tory leanings — was set to work.

On the 4th of July he came down to the House with what he thought was an eighty-ton gun, warranted to blow up "the obstructives" at a single discharge, and all his own invention too. Its charmingly simple principle was to entrust to a majority of the House of Commons the power of crushing a minority at will. But this monster piece of ordnance, while no doubt very effective for the purpose Mr. Puleston had in mind, was unfortunately too sweeping in its discharge, and could not be counted on to avoid blowing up others than mere Irish members. The House very soon saw that this was the case; and the consequence was that Mr. Puleston's eighty-ton gun was rejected amid general laughter.

The English Tory of the name of Blake — perhaps smarting under that "flattest contradiction" which he had received from Mr. Parnell on the morning of the 3rd — returned to the charge on the 4th, burning for the opportunity of bringing the member for Meath to book about his alleged disrespectful language concerning the Speaker of the House. Being on that occasion foiled he made another essay on the 5th. The forms of the House stood in his way; but Mr. Parnell was quite anxious to accommodate Mr. Blake; and, rising in his place, blandly observed that if the

House wished for explanation on the matter, "he did not in any way wish to stand in the way of the House getting that explanation." The Speaker himself closed the incident for the time; but on the 6th Mr. Parnell made an early opportunity for giving his explanation, and so disposed of Mr. Blake and his motion.

The same night, Mr. Biggar and he, as composed as if nothing had ever happened out of the usual course, and as if they had not been besides the theme of numberless hostile leading articles in the papers for several mornings, quite calmly and deliberately opposed two English bills, taking several divisions on motions to stop their progress in committee, and in the end were again victorious. Further, some English "gentleman" having spoken of Mr. Biggar as a "blackguard" during the struggle, Mr. Parnell had him at once before the Speaker, and compelled him to withdraw and apologize for using the offensive epithet.

About this period the Government was very anxious to push on two Irish measures of its own—the Judicature Bill and the County Courts Bill—many of the provisions of both of which had earned the condemnation of the Irish Parliamentary party, or, to speak more correctly, of such of them as took the trouble to attend even moderately to their public duties. Whenever any of the party were inclined for work, Mr. Parnell worked with them heartily. In conjunction with



them he took an active part in the issues raised on the Judicature Bill, besides dragging up the Phoenix Park outrage on the estimates for the metropolitan police; making efforts to improve the constitution of the Local Government Board; and again drawing attention to the Phoenix Park outrage on the constabulary estimates. He succeeded in procuring the adoption of several of his amendments, as well as in extracting from the Government a definite promise that they would provide for independent inspection of all convict prisons, so that their unhappy inmates should not be left wholly to the tender mercies of hardened officials. Good work for a single man, this will no doubt be thought; yet not a tithe of what it would have been but for the restraining presence of Mr. Butt, who appealed to Mr. Parnell to give way on the constabulary estimates. In spite of what had passed between the two gentlemen, Mr. Parnell, in deference to Mr. Butt, did give way. Thus a "scene" which must have been more violent than any preceding one, was avoided on the 19th of July; for it had been Mr. Parnell's resolve to have challenged a division on every one of thirty-two estimates, and it is but natural to suppose that the tempers of the mob of unwilling pedestrians should have suffered more than ever under an infliction so unprecedented. Mr. Parnell, however, did not leave the House in the least doubt either as to the intentions he had en-

tertained or the reason which moved him to forego them. He openly stated that "it was fortunate for the Government that the honorable and learned member for Limerick was present; for, had it not been for his declared wish, he (Mr. Parnell) should have divided the House on every one of the thirty-two votes." A sense of relief must have been experienced all along the Government benches at this announcement, and a transitory feeling of gratitude to Mr. Butt no doubt was felt. Against Mr. Parnell, on the other hand, the bitterest antipathy was excited by his audacious declaration. It was borne in mind too; and the very next night the frantic hostility of "the first assembly of gentlemen in the world," as the English are fond of calling their House of Commons, burst in a tornado of uproar, the equal of which had never been known within the walls of the Commons chamber. The scene which took place was similar to those we have previously described, only much more disorderly, tumultuous, and disgraceful.

The scene began by Mr. Biggar moving, near one o'clock in the morning, that progress should be reported. In the course of an animated discussion which ensued, Mr. Butt said he did not regard the proceedings initiated by Mr. Biggar as obstruction. Notwithstanding this pronouncement of the leader of the Irish party, Mr. Meldon "protested against the course taken by the

honorable member for Cavan as obstructive," etc. Mr. O'Shaughnessy also, the junior member for Limerick city, was rewarded by "loud cheers," for a wanton attack upon his brother Irish members. This brought Mr. Parnell to his feet in reply. Then the full fury of the hurricane burst forth. The uproar grew deafening. Most of it was inarticulate noises — shouts, hoots, yells, groans, howls — purposely made to try once more to cow him, and at least to prevent him from being heard. Amid the horrid din occasionally could be heard shrieks of "'vide, 'vide," screams of "sit down," and the like; while one honorable gentleman, filled with an enlightened zeal for "the tone of the House," roared out, familiarly, "Finish up, Parnell." The member for Meath, however, was not cowed, did not sit down, and would not "finish up." Instead, he showed a spice of resentment at the organized clamor to which he was being subjected, and contrived to make himself distinctly heard while uttering some stinging sentences not complimentary to the English national character. But it was hard work to go on. The following paragraph will help the reader to realize the circumstances under which Mr. Parnell spoke that night: —

"This is a sample (great uproar) — this is a sample — (deafening uproar) — this is a sample of your English fair play — (indescribable confusion).

I have often heard of it—(continued uproar)—but I have never seen it”—(prolonged uproar). In the midst of the hideous and disgusting confusion the chairman's voice is faintly heard, calling on the honorable member for Meath to proceed ; to which that honorable member calmly responds that he will if he is allowed.

In the end, by persistence, Mr. Parnell won. The very means designed to prevent what was called "obstruction of business" proved in truth an admirable instrument for preventing the House from doing any business whatever. This fact began to dawn on the Tory leaders when a couple of hours had been spent in wild confusion ; and at length the Chancellor of the Exchequer consented to close the sitting. It was considerably after two o'clock on a Saturday morning when the House adjourned, on the understanding that there should be a sitting for that day, beginning at noon, to push on the Judicature Bill. Saturday, except on very extraordinary occasions, is a holiday with the London Parliament, and members are always very loath to give it up to business, however important ; but in the temper of the time most of the Commons were prepared to make large sacrifices in the hope of squelching the little band of irrepressible Irishmen who presumed to air opinions of their own in that assembly, and who, not content with spurning incorporation, either with the Tory party or the Whig,

actually dared to refuse assent to the notions entertained, however thoughtlessly or blindly, by an overwhelming British majority.

For a whole week subsequently every sitting had its "scene." The formal sitting of Saturday, the 21st, came, and with it a mob of British members prepared to send through committee at racing speed the Government Judicature Bill. Their good intentions, however, were all in vain. At the very outset they were met by a motion to report progress; and then through long weary hours the wrangle between majority and minority went on. It must be said of this day's sitting that by no means such violence was displayed as at any of the stormy night scenes; a circumstance largely due, no doubt, to the fact that it was held before dinner, not after.

Mr. Butt made a remarkable intervention in the tedious debate.- He began by saying that "he rose with feelings of humiliation to take part in this miserable discussion." Although the gist of his speech was a condemnation of his own too zealous followers, he did not wholly acquit the majority of blame. The portion of his remarks first alluded to evoked "loud cheers" of course from the British; but they did not appreciate the second portion at all—which was only what might have been expected. In spite of his influential interference the Saturday sitting might almost as well not have been held. But little

was done except to expose more clearly than ever the utter helplessness of the British House of Commons in the grasp of a few resolute Irish members.

The sitting of Monday, the 23rd, came, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose early in his place to propose, in view of the alarmingly backward state of "the business of the House," that Tuesdays and Wednesdays — the days devoted to the bills of private members — should be given up by them to the Government for the rest of the session. Mr. Parnell, "who rose amid loud and general interruption," opposed the Chancellor's proposition, and in the course of his speech took occasion to point out that the House was really overburdened with work; that in its insatiable appetite for meddling with the affairs of other peoples it had gorged itself with business; and that the only remedy for its complaint was disgorgement. He was informed that he must not discuss the question of Home Rule for Ireland on a motion for facilitating the transaction of "the business of the House," but he adroitly drove home his point by saying that it would be necessary very soon to take into consideration the breaking up of the legislative functions of the House, and their redistribution among smaller bodies. That day there was another scene, of course. The majority were in such a condition of mind that they could not keep their tempers for

fifteen minutes at a time ; but as the climax of violence had been reached in the sitting of the 20th, the tendency now was towards outbursts of wrath less unreasoning. Mr. Parnell's share in the inevitable "scene" was a warm interposition in defence of Mr. O'Donnell when that gentleman was grossly attacked by a Tory named Chaplin.

An incident of a very peculiar kind occurred in the sitting of Tuesday, the 24th July, which, though it caused much laughter in the House at the moment, was yet added to the long list of offences of which in the minds of most of the British members Mr. Parnell had been guilty. The Irish County Courts Bill was under consideration in committee ; the hour was one well into Wednesday morning. Major O'Gorman moved that progress should be reported. He named Mr. Biggar for his co-teller. The two gentlemen proceeded to the lobby of the "ayes" to count those who were of opinion that progress should be reported. They were followed into the lobby by but one solitary member — Mr. Parnell. Messrs O'Gorman and Biggar had small trouble in fulfilling their duties as tellers. Not so the Tory whips ; for when the numbers were announced there appeared "ayes," 1 ; "noes," 147.

The gallant major was still unsatisfied. No sooner was the result of the division given to the House than he moved "that the chairman do now leave the chair." Again he named Mr. Biggar to

aid him in counting ; again that gentleman cheerfully assented ; and again Mr. Parnell rose quietly from his seat, and placidly walked alone into the lobby. When the division on this second motion of Major O’Gorman’s was declared, it was found that there was but one “aye” against 128 “noes.” There was something so unique, so sublimely audacious, in these two unprecedented divisions, that for the nonce the British saw only a comic side to the affair, and the announcements of the numbers were received with roars of laughter. But, judging from what happened on the following day, it would seem, after all, to have been bitterly remembered.

The Government had a bill in hands for forming a confederation in their South African colonies. They had also annexed, in a most unjustifiable manner, the republic of the Transvaal. Mr. O’Donnell had put down on the notice paper some forty amendments to the South African Confederation Bill. On Wednesday, the 25th of July, as soon as the House was made, he moved to report progress, on the ground that the Government had given no clear and satisfactory explanation of the annexation of the Transvaal. As usual, he was greeted with shouts and interruptions, and appeals to the chair to declare him out of order. When he had finished, Mr. Parnell rose amid interruptions, which were repeated and continued while he spoke. His observations



were couched in a warmer style than was habitual to him, for the subject was one on which he felt strongly. In the course of his speech he said :—

“I feel as an Irishman, coming from a country which has experienced to the fullest extent the result of English interference in its affairs, and the consequences of English cruelty and tyranny, that I have a special interest in thwarting and preventing the designs of Government upon their unfortunate South African colonists.”

No sooner were these words spoken than Sir Stafford Northcote sprang to his feet like a man who saw an opportunity for which he had been looking. He moved that Mr. Parnell's words should be taken down, and the Speaker of the House sent for. These grave ceremonies having been properly performed, the words were duly reported to the Speaker. That functionary “turned eagerly upon Mr. Parnell for an explanation, but Mr. Parnell placidly looked on, and made no sign of rising. After being more than once invited to speak, the honorable member at length rose, and soon all the previous excitement was child's play to what ensued. In the most determined manner he defended himself, and, using language which greatly irritated the Ministerialists, he was called upon by the Speaker to desist and withdraw.”

When a member of the London Parliament is about to be tried by his peers, the strange custom

of the place is to send him out and try him behind his back. Mr. Parnell left the House proper, as desired, and proceeded to one of the galleries, where he quietly sat observing all that subsequently passed below. We take from a London correspondent the following description of the scene which ensued :—

“The moment Mr. Parnell had gone, the Chancellor improved the opportunity by giving his version of the occurrence, and ended by making a proposal—that Mr. Parnell, having wilfully and persistently obstructed public business, be suspended from the service of the House until Friday next. In his hasty and feeble way it was at once seen that the Chancellor had not hit the mark at which he aimed, and a murmur of triumphant satisfaction ran along the Irish ranks—now greatly recruited when it was found that a deliberate onslaught had been made on one of their number. Mr. Sullivan, ever ready to fill the Irish gap, sprang to the rescue of the member for Meath, adopted for himself the very words which had disturbed the soul of Sir Stafford Northcote, and challenged the Government to take *his* words down. With exquisite perception of the truth, Mr. Sullivan demonstrated to the House that which was clear enough, indeed, to those who had watched the entire tactics of the Government throughout the day—namely, that the Chancellor wished to punish Mr. Parnell, not for what he had said that day, but for his conduct on previous occasions, and which was not on record. Another heavy blow came upon the Government from a quarter they little suspected. Who was it that dared from the front Opposition bench

directly facing Mr. Hardy, to cast in the teeth of that very Hotspur of obstruction his famous avowal to 'thwart' all the efforts of the late Ministry to carry out its army reforms? Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, ex-Lord of the Treasury, and ex-Under Secretary for the Home Department. It was in vain that the chairman peered through his spectacles, or nervously wrung his hands. It was in vain that, with the hot blood rushing up to his face, Mr. Hardy impatiently shook his head. Mr. Hugessen dilated with great precision on the well-remembered tactics, and not once or twice, but on dozens of occasions, of members of the present Government to obstruct the measures of the late Ministry. The discussion then became general, and it was soon made apparent that the mine sprung by the Government so far had been sprung in vain. The Chancellor at last was compelled slowly to give ground, for the Speaker announced that Mr. Parnell was entitled to take his place in the House until Friday."

So the consideration of the Chancellor's penal proposal against Mr. Parnell was postponed for two days, when that most aggravating of Irish members was at last to be brought to book, to the great joy of the now triumphant majority.

"The battle is not always to the strong," according to the proverb; and in the encounter between Mr. Parnell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, supported as the latter was by the mass of the Commons, the wise paradox received ample justification. The Chancellor was worsted, and knew that he was. So, too, knew every man in the

House who still retained even a remnant of reason. The member for Meath, calmly surveying from the gallery overhead the remarkable scene taking place on the floor beneath him, heard the Speaker's decision that he was at liberty to resume his place in the House. Thereupon he left the gallery, and walked quietly towards the bench usually occupied by him. Though aware that he had won an undoubted victory, and that he had had besides the gratification of opening out his mind about the Ministerialists pretty freely to them, he wore no air of triumph as he went up the floor. Rather, indeed, his mien was that of gentlemanly, if not studied, unostentation.

He did not, however, take his seat when he went in. He had had possession of the floor at the time of the Chancellor's interruption; he had not been allowed to conclude his speech; and now, after the lapse of an hour spent in discussing his words and conduct, he proceeded to finish the remarks he had originally intended to make. He went on, in truth, precisely as if there had been no interruption whatever; and he amazed all, while amusing many, by taking up his speech at the exact point where he had left off—absolutely at the very words where he had been checked — “and,” says a newspaper correspondent of the time, “bore himself with all the calmness of a judge amid the uproar.”

The Marquis of Hartington, leader of the Whig

Opposition, and possible leader of the House in the event of a change of Ministry, was naturally as anxious to quell Mr. Parnell as Sir Stafford Northcote himself could be; but he was just as anxious that that should be done without at the same time doing vital injury to the House of Commons itself. Therefore, as Sir Stafford had placed himself in a false position by his rashness of the 25th July, the Marquis obligingly came to his aid at the sitting of Thursday, the 26th, by mildly suggesting that the personal aspect of the obstruction question should be wholly dropped. A capital suggestion this was for the Chancellor, seeing that he could have made nothing of his charge against Mr. Parnell; so Sir Stafford in the most amiable manner adopted the idea of his right honorable friend the noble marquis, and announced that instead of proceeding against the honorable member for Meath on the morrow he would bring forward some resolutions dealing in a general way with the facilitation of "the business of the House." In all probability this little Parliamentary farce, which went off with great *eclat*, had been arranged beforehand between the right honorable baronet and the equally right honorable marquis.

The morrow came, Friday, the 27th July, and the resolutions of the Chancellor were duly put before the House. One provided that if a member were twice declared out of order by the

Speaker or the chairman of committees, it should be in the power of the House to muzzle him by suspending the debate and summarily silencing him during the remainder of the sitting. The other provided that it should not be in the power of any member to move more than once that the chairman do report progress, or that the chairman do leave the chair. The first as well as the second of these rules was meant to work practically only while the House sat in committee, for then it was that the new Irish scheme of Parliamentary tactics could be best developed.

Hours on hours of discussion of these proposals followed their introduction; for the more thoughtful among the British members were loath to part, even for the remainder of the session, with valuable privileges of which they themselves might be anxious to avail themselves at any moment. The one circumstance of the discussion which astonished and disturbed the faithful Commons was, that all the prominent "obstructives" rose to tell the House that they had not the faintest idea of offering opposition to the proposed rules. It had naturally been expected that they would resist to the utmost what was so transparently an effort to make a net in which to catch them; and when, instead of resisting, they seemed rather to enjoy the process of manufacture going on before their eyes, an uneasy feeling began to prevail in the bosom of many a British member that the Chan-

cellor's meshes would prove unequal to their purpose. Nevertheless the Minister's blindly obedient majority obeyed his will, and the Chancellor's proposals at length became formally "rules of the House" for the rest of the session of 1877. Here we may state, however, that the only one who came under the operation of either of them was a British member—poor Mr. Whalley, to wit—and that in applying the first rule to him the Speaker made a ludicrous blunder which put his own proceeding wholly out of order, and brought down general ridicule on "the new rules." What effect those rules had in restraining "the obstructives" will presently be seen.

The sessions of the London Parliament usually close before the middle of August, to allow of noble lords and honorable and right honorable gentlemen being on the moors in time for the opening of the shooting season—an arrangement which is obviously less for the convenience of legislation than of the legislators. Lo! August was at hand, and the Government's pet project, the South African Confederation Bill, had still to go through most of its stages. Ministers felt that "something must be done" in earnest at this conjuncture. Monday, the 30th July, passed away, and the South African Bill, had virtually made no progress. The dreadful member for Dungarvan and his small band of colleagues stood in the way. Need it be said that Mr. Parnell was one of them?

Tuesday, the 31st July, disclosed the notable "something" which had been evolved.

Anything better calculated to render Parliamentary institutions worthless, to bring them into just contempt, and to make men inclined to turn from them towards some form of intelligent despotism, can hardly be conceived than the plan put in force on the 31st July. The Conservative members were divided into batches, each batch told off to appear in the House during certain hours of the evening and night. Thus a system of relays was constituted, whose duty it was to relieve each other at stated periods, and so avoid too much fatigue for any. It was perfectly understood from the first that their business was, not to discuss the provisions of the South African Bill, but to pass them. Many Whig members lent themselves to this conspiracy, moved thereto by the good old Sassenach intolerance of Irish liberties. Some of the Home Rule party, with the spaniel's instinct, did likewise. Every necessary preparation had been made to keep up the strength of the Government men. Meat and drink were provided for them regardless of expense. Supper for those who remained about the lobbies for divisions in the night, and breakfast for those expected early in the morning, were ordered by the Government whip. Such toothsome delicacies as grilled bones, devilled kidneys, and spatchcocks figured largely on the dining-room tables. Copi-



ous supplies of champagne were there to keep up the fighting spirit of the Saxon host. No doubt it had that effect as the hours flew by ; but it had the effect also of making honorable members more uproarious than they might otherwise have been.

The struggle began at about five o'clock on Tuesday evening, Mr. O'Donnell, in right of his scores of amendments, leading the assault. The Irish, all told, numbered just seven. Mr. Butt sided with the Government and the majority, and bitterly assailed the colleagues who were too active for his wishes. He publicly denied in the House that they were members of the Irish party, and declared that if he thought their conduct received the sanction of their countrymen he would retire from Irish politics as from "a vulgar brawl." Yet he should not be judged too harshly. His early conservative training could not but have left some warp in his ideas.

All night long the contest went on. The chairman of committees was relieved by a deputy, who in turn was relieved by another, who in turn was relieved by still another, who in turn was relieved by the chairman in person. Every amendment proposed was ignorantly defeated, when brought to a division, by a swarm of British members who had not heard a word of the reasons urged in favor of the amendments, but who rushed into the House with the sole and deliberate purpose of

voting down any and every proposal that came from the Irish seven.

As might be expected, Mr. Parnell took a conspicuous part in the fray. In the course of the night, in language which the newspaper correspondents characterized as of extraordinary boldness, he taunted the Englishmen with their love of boasting, sneered at "English fair play," told them it was best exemplified in their national custom of kicking a man when down, and described them as "big bullies," who, like all bullies, shrank when they were met with determination. It need hardly be added that such plain and truthful speaking was not at all to the taste of those who heard it; but they had to swallow it as best they could.

This was just the occasion on which to test the value of the "new rules." Strange to say, however, the Irish members kept wonderfully within the bounds of order, while such of their British opponents as ventured to speak at all were constantly tripping up, and one after another, amid general mortification, had to withdraw and to apologize for his unparliamentary expressions. As if to crown the absurdity of the anti-obstruction devices, and to put a climax of ridicule on those doings of "the assembled wisdom of the country," the very chairman himself got out of order, made a ruling antagonistic to the Irish which was at once challenged, and was con-

strained to withdraw it and to say, "I beg your pardon," to the infinite grief of the wildly excited but thoroughly humiliated mob of Britishers. To Mr. Edmund Dwyer Gray, then in his best days as an Irish politician, was due a result so provocative of inextinguishable laughter.

The wear and tear of this most harassing session had for some time been telling on Mr. Parnell. The London correspondent of the *Newcastle Chronicle*, who is understood to be no other than Mr. Joseph Cowen, M. P., for Newcastle-on-Tyne, writing a little while before this famous scene at Westminster, describes him as looking much worn, and as having aged wonderfully in appearance within a comparatively short time. Though his strength was failing he held on resolutely all through the night, saw the sun rise and the gas turned off; and not till a quarter past eight in the morning, after fifteen hours of incessant labor, mental and vocal, protracted struggle, unending uproar, and unbroken excitement, did he retire from the arena to take a much needed rest. Others had preceded him, and had returned to their posts. But he did not remain long away. Four hours later, at a quarter past twelve, he was again by the side of his few colleagues; and thenceforward until the last division was taken, after a sitting of the unprecedented duration of twenty-six hours, he continued with them the unequal fight.

It should be noted here, as a very interesting incident of this famous sitting of the British Parliament, that Miss Fanny Parnell, one of the high-spirited sisters of the member for Meath, sat all night long in the ladies' gallery of the Commons chamber, a listener to and a spectator of what was going forward below. The lady's strong Irish sympathies and high-souled courage are very generally known by this time.

Another notable incident of the twenty-six hours' sitting may be recalled. There is a chaplain attached to the House of Commons, whose duty it is to prepare with prayer the business of each sitting—an ironical proceeding some may think. He came down to the House at twelve o'clock on Wednesday, book in hand, to perform his functions in the ordinary course at a day sitting. His astonishment may be imagined when he found the night sitting of Tuesday still in full swing at noonday on Wednesday; and he precipitately beat a retreat.

The Government had carried their point. They had forced the South African Confederation Bill through committee; but they had done so at the cost of depriving the House of Commons of all character as a deliberative assembly. Very soon they were made to know that. Every journal in Great Britain and Ireland was ringing with the twenty-six hours' fight; and though, of course, the British writers at first and chiefly showered

blame on the heads of the Irish "obstructives," yet the conspirators against freedom of debate came in for the gravest censure. Englishmen are as jealous of their hard-won national liberties as they are impatient of the liberties of other peoples; and from all sides came down a very hail of denunciation on the Government for daring to overturn, by the system of "relays," the whole constitution of the House of Commons, and causing it to violate its duty of deliberating on legislative projects. Thus the latest weapon fashioned for the crushing of the new Irish tactics was discovered to be more fatal to British freedom than to "obstruction;" consequently it was never more employed.

Again, the Irish, with their accustomed skill, had selected for their operations a subject which was certain to afford them ample justification for the most strenuous opposition. The annexation of the Transvaal and the South African Confederation Act were between them responsible for the Zulu war, with its bloody episodes and its disgraceful disasters of Isandula and the Intombi river, as well as for the heavy pecuniary costs involved — costs which must come out of the pockets chiefly of British taxpayers. Nor is it by any means certain, at the time of this writing, that all trouble for the British empire is at an end in South Africa. It may be a long while ere the Boers are content to remain in that South African

Confederation with which they were so violently incorporated.

About the beginning of August London editors made a singular discovery. They had previously been accustomed to refer to Mr. Parnell as a man wholly without capacity, who had achieved a bad notoriety by a series of wanton outrages against "the tone of the House." All of a sudden, however, they found out that he was a man of "undoubted ability," who showed great skill in selecting the subjects he brought before the House aforesaid, great clearness in presenting his views, and great adroitness in utilizing the forms of Parliament. He was spoken of kindly as a young man who had a splendid career open to him if he would employ his undoubted ability in less aggravating ways, and would not set himself in violent opposition to the House. Why, it was hinted, he might before long actually be a Cabinet Minister of the British Empire. A man with his gifts might aspire to almost any post. In other words, if he would only throw over Ireland, accept the Union, and settle down to work as a British party-man, he would in the end be duly rewarded with "a place." Charles Stewart Parnell, nevertheless, heeded as little this British soft sawder as he heeded the uproar to which British members of Parliament nightly treated him. He went on his own way without pause or falter, offering, with Mr. O'Donnell and others,

amendments to the Prisons Bill and the South African Bill to the last, some of which were so obviously valuable that the Government accepted them. Nay, a few nights after the twenty-six hours' fight he calmly "talked out" the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill—a Government measure of the very first importance—the feat evoking only unutterable horror. It was too much. Words—nay, even brayings—could not express what was felt on the occasion.

The strong language in which Mr. Butt indulged in the debate on the morning of the 1st of August expressed his real feelings, and he soon made an effort to procure the expulsion from the Irish Parliamentary party of those members who had the temerity to defy English public opinion and to show the most utter disregard for "the tone of the House." It should be remembered for him that he was then fast failing both in mind and body, that he was constitutionally averse from anything in the nature of resolute fighting, and that, besides, the training of a life, most of which was passed in *nisi prius* courts, inclined him to persuasion and argument for the accomplishment of his ends. If he were so wanting in sagacity as to regard the British Parliament as though it were an enormous jury sworn to do justice according to the evidence, there was much excuse for him. His effort to expel Mr. Parnell and his friends wholly failed at the meeting of the Irish party called for that ex-

press purpose. Even though Mr. Butt threatened to resign his leadership, if his wishes were not complied with, the meeting broke up without doing anything or coming to any decision on the question before them.

In Ireland the course pursued by Mr. Parnell and his friends was not only understood but thoroughly approved of; and when it came to be known that efforts were being made by Mr. Butt to crush the fighting men of his own following, it was deemed judicious to give him some unmistakable inkling of the popular judgment on the subject in dispute. Accordingly a public meeting in honor of Messrs. Parnell and Biggar was projected in Dublin, to be held in the historic Round Room of the Rotundo. The committee of management early foresaw that some mode of checking the rush that would be made on the room the night of the meeting was an absolute necessity. Admission by ticket only was resorted to. The demand for tickets was amazing. All classes, rich and poor, high and low, made application; even numerous civil servants eagerly sought for them that they might secure admission.

The most remarkable session of the British Parliament for over a century came to an end on the 13th of August, 1877. The Rotundo meeting followed on the 21st of the same month. Even under the ticket system every part of the vast hall—platform, floor, and gallery—was over-



crowded. The scene when the two guests of the evening came on the platform was such as was never previously witnessed, there or elsewhere, by the present generation. Such wild enthusiasm, such unbounded delight, such universal cheering, prolonged for ten minutes, such waving of hats in air by strong-armed men, such fluttering of snowy handkerchiefs by bright-eyed women—such a scene as this is seldom witnessed more than once in a life-time. A forest of hats moved to and fro over the densely packed mass on the great platform; and in front of that black moving mass there stood, erect, unwavering, a tall slight figure, presenting a pale quiet face with set features, which might have caused an observer to think that their owner was stirred by no emotion whatever, either through the thrilling sight before him or the yet more thrilling sounds of joy and welcome which tore the air incessantly, but that now and again a soft light came and went in the bright brown eyes. And when the cheering within the room had died away, lo! more mighty still in volume came the hurraing of the many thousands outside the building, who, unable to effect an entrance, were yet eager to join their voices with those of the more fortunate within, in an overpowering demonstration of welcome to Parnell and Biggar, the two exemplars of faithful Irish representatives. Dublin had spoken on the

issue raised by Mr. Butt, and her verdict was emphatically with Mr. Parnell.

The capital of a nation may not be in strict accord, either politically or morally, with the rest of the country. Provincial places usually move more slowly than metropolitan ones; provincial people do not catch up new ideas in a hurry. Dublin indeed had spoken; but the voice of the provinces had yet to be heard in judgment on the new Parliamentary policy before any one could assume that it had the approval of the country. Yet so rapidly did this policy commend itself to the national intelligence that within a few weeks Mr. Parnell was invited to and honored at public meetings and banquets by several provincial districts, the old fortress-town of Kilmallock spiritedly leading the way. Wherever, in fact, the people were given the opportunity of making a pronouncement, it was emphatically on the side of Parnell as against Butt.

That circumstance, however, did not prevent Mr. Butt from retaining much influential support for the "fair-and-easy" method he himself favored. He had too often branded as "revolutionary" the more active and persistent one not to have had a following among the large number of people who, in Ireland as elsewhere, shrink from a course which they regard as violent.

Nevertheless Mr. Butt must have felt that the sceptre was slipping from his grasp; that his title

of leader was scarcely more than nominal; that his power over the Irish people, whether to spur forward or restrain, was fast ebbing away. It was a mortifying position for the great old man, and its bitterness must have been aggravated by the consciousness of failing health. His step was even then growing slow and heavy; his great frame, massive as an oak-tree's trunk, had fallen far forward at the shoulders; the movement of his big heart was feeble, and his pulses made less healthful music than of yore. Worse than all, the splendid intellect, once so strong and so versatile, and on which a great question seemed to lie as lightly as a pebble in a giant's palm, was giving way, was wearing down, was losing both power and elasticity. And the soul of the old man was grieved exceedingly.

In the hope of still effecting good with the Irish Parliamentary party, he consented, although reluctantly, to the holding of a national conference for the purpose of settling the vexed question of policy. While waiting for the assembling of this conference the year 1877 passed away.

In January, 1878, the conference was duly held. A majority of those present, as well as all the weighty argument, was so plainly on the side of the new tactics that the prominent supporters of the old did not dare to take a division on the question in dispute; and a compromise — suggested by Mr. Parnell, who did not want to break

up or divide the Parliamentary party, but only to put some earnestness into it — was effected. Mr. Butt could not but have felt that he had sustained a defeat; and the feeling was not calculated to lighten his vexation at the course affairs were and had been taking. In a little while he formally resigned the leadership of the party, but resumed it, at least nominally, on the request of the members. When, later on, he resigned the post of president of the Home Rule Confederation, driven thereto by the repeated declarations of branches of that body in favor of the new policy, and when on the instant Mr. Parnell was unanimously elected his successor, the cup of bitterness must have been filled for him, and only a rancorous or a dull cold heart could refuse him pity and sympathy. He had made large sacrifices of time and money for Ireland, doing the best for her according to his lights; he had given stupendous labor in the drawing up of Irish bills and the like; he had devoted several of the best years of his life with great earnestness and energy to the furtherance of Irish popular interests in many ways; yet, on the one hand, he found that in spite of his numerous appeals to them a majority of the Irish Parliamentary party, while claiming to be truly his followers, would not work steadily with him, and in important crises were ever ready to split up into tails of the two great British factions; and, on the other hand, because he was so unwise

as to identify himself completely with that worthless majority, who would neither be led nor driven to do right, he found the masses of the Irish people falling away from him and enthusiastically enrolling themselves under the banners of the men for whom his strongest denunciations had been reserved. Who could envy him the feelings he must have had on awakening to the consciousness of desertion on both sides, while he himself fully believed that the desertion on either was wholly undeserved? Justice to his memory! Even though he employed the brief remainder of his life and the remnant of his decaying powers rather in a struggle to retain the leadership from which the popular will had virtually deposed him, than in serious effort for the interest of the country of his birth and his love, we can still wish that the clay may rest lightly on his breast, in that lone humble grave in sea-washed Donegal, where he chose that his body should mingle with Irish earth.

When Mr. Parnell entered the London Parliament in 1878 his position was an infinitely stronger one than it had theretofore been. He was no longer an individual member struggling against an overbearing and intolerant majority. He had acquired something of the character of a national representative. His previous action had been sufficiently endorsed to give him much more than individual influence. All through the session of 1878, there-

fore, though he still worked in the grooves he had previously made, extraordinary scenes were not the ordinary result of his proceedings. On the contrary, the Government were inclined to conciliate him to a large extent, much to the disgust of many of their stupid followers, who thought that hanging would be too mild a fate for "that Irish fellow." The British press still harped on "obstruction," and Mr. Parnell was actually designated publicly "a curse to the kingdom"—the kingdom referred to, we need hardly say, being Great Britain.

At length, so intolerable to the British Parliament and Government had the situation grown, a Parliamentary committee was appointed to consider how best an end could be put to "obstruction." Mr. Parnell's firm position in the House was recognized by the Government placing him on this committee. While serving on it he completely baffled every effort made towards showing that he and the few who acted with him had been at all in the wrong. He also established the futility of striving to restrain him even a little in the future, except by the adoption of some method which must restrain British members also, and so be hurtful to Parliament itself. In short, so skilful were the questions he put to the various witnesses, and so ably did he expose the fact that the real drift of the inquiry was to repress only such Irish members as stood up manfully for their

country, that the British press positively took to complimenting him, praised him for his ability, his wisdom, and his mastery of Parliamentary procedure, and suggested to the Ministry that he should be often appointed on committees of the House, where he could do most useful work, and at the same time be kept occupied in such a way as to prevent him from delaying the ordinary business of Parliament.

Undisturbed, either by censure or flattery, he continued his labors persistently, amazing all, not only by the vast number of subjects he took up, but by the fulness of his knowledge regarding each. There was no stopping him, because he always spoke clearly and pointedly to the question before the House. And at last, as the days of the session were quickly running out, and Government business was woefully behind, the Ministry hit on the sensible plan of buying off his opposition for a couple of months. This was done by the introduction of the Irish Intermediate Education Bill, which went far towards putting Irish Catholics on an equality with Irish Protestants in the matter of middle-class education, restored to Ireland a million of pounds out of the many millions taken from her and transferred to the Imperial Exchequer, and must prove of incalculable benefit to the next generation of Irishmen.

The session of 1879 was a repetition of the previous one in its leading features. Mr. Parnell

devoted himself, among other labors, to a continued criticism of the Government Army Bill, with the result that it left the committee a totally different bill from what it was when it went in. About thirty of his amendments were accepted by Ministers, and in the course of the long struggle he succeeded in changing the opinion of the House on several points of army discipline. Meanwhile Government business was again wofully delayed ; and another bid for Mr. Parnell's inactivity was made by the introduction of an Irish University Bill—this, too, in face of a Ministerial statement, made early in the session, that the administration had no intention of dealing with the subject of Irish university education.

Out of this Ministerial concession arose a most unpleasant episode. The bill notoriously did not attempt to do full justice to the Catholic body. Mr. Parnell firmly held the view that the same method which had forced it into being could improve it in constitution. Several of the Irish Catholic members were of a like conviction, and were anxious to keep up the pressure on Government. But, alas ! a majority of the Irish Catholic members would not agree to this courageous and obviously right course. Sharp words are said to have passed between the two sections at a private meeting of the party ; and Mr. Edmund Dwyer Gray, member for Tipperary County, and proprietor of the *Freeman's Journal*, felt himself



especially aggrieved by Mr. Parnell through something that took place on the occasion. He revenged himself in the columns of his paper by floating the story that Mr. Parnell had called those who differed from him "a cowardly set of Papist rats," and another story which charged him with having used offensive epithets in regard to several of his brother members. The first story was promptly contradicted by five of the Catholic members present at the meeting — all men of the highest character, both personally and politically. Three others, who politically cannot be said to stand by any means so high, gave a kind of support to Mr. Gray's statement, but all three differed materially in their versions of the words alleged to have been used by Mr. Parnell. The second story, when traced to its origin, was found to have no foundation whatever. The whole country rose almost as one man to sustain the member for Meath under these unfair attacks, and both Mr. Gray and his journal fell into deep discredit. A reconciliation between the two gentlemen was effected through the intervention of his Grace the Archbishop of Cashel, Mr. Parnell behaving with the utmost magnanimity in the affair.

The Irish University Act — which, though it did not confer complete equality on the Catholics, was yet a very useful measure — was the trophy Mr. Parnell had to show for his Parliamentary warfare of 1879. It is needless to recall that by this

time he had all Ireland at his back, except the political tricksters and the British party-men. A striking proof of the fact was afforded by the Ennis election in the Summer of 1879. In that spirited town, so celebrated for its connection with Catholic Emancipation just half a century before, Mr. Parnell was able to carry a candidate pledged to the active policy in Parliament, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishop of the diocese and the local clergy. It need hardly be observed that the population of Ennis are among the most devotedly Catholic in the world, and that nowhere is the advice of appointed spiritual guides received with more unqualified respect, and ordinarily with more unqualified acceptance, even in temporal concerns.

Mr. Parnell had long seen how destructive to Irish prosperity was the system of Irish landlordism. Scarcely had the agitation for a reduction of rents begun than he reduced the rents of his own tenants, although, as may well be supposed, they were not rack-rents. From the outset he flung himself into the land agitation started by Mr. Davitt, coming over from the London Parliament to speak at one of the earliest Mayo meetings in the beginning of the Spring of 1879. When his harassing Parliamentary labors were closed for the session, instead of taking required rest, as others would have done, he went into the land agitation heart and soul, attending meetings in

all parts of the country. One very appreciable effect of the agitation was a widespread reduction of rents which retained millions of pounds in the impoverished tenants' pockets. More valuable still were the lessons impressed by Mr. Parnell on the awakening tillers of the soil. Among others he taught them that it was wrong to let themselves and their families starve in order to pay rack-rents to landlords; he taught them to organize and combine for mutual protection; he taught them to regard the establishment of a peasant proprietary as the one permanent settlement of the Irish land question; and he struck out a practicable plan which, while compensating the landlords for the relinquishment of their proprietorial privileges, would inevitably transfer to the tillers the ownership of the soil.

Finally, seeing that the British Government did not mean to come to the relief of the unfortunate people trembling on the verge of starvation, and that it did mean to uphold the rapacious system of landlordism which had driven them there, he determined to appeal to the people of the United States. They were free; they were generous; they were powerful; the moral influence of their public opinion would be a tremendous force if arrayed on the side of a plundered people. To them he would speak with the living voice; before them he would plainly put the case of his clients.

He was commissioned by the Irish National Land League and Tenants' Defence Association.

The time of his departure was postponed considerably by a rumor, which seems to have been skilfully set afloat by some one from the neighborhood of Dublin Castle, that the Government intended to arrest him on a charge of sedition, just as it had arrested Messrs. Davitt, Daly, Brennan, and Killen for words spoken at land meetings. Mr. Parnell boldly stayed to meet the arrest.

Finding that it came not, he, in conjunction with Mr. John Dillon, dared the Winter's storms and gave up the social pleasures of the festive Christmas season in the execution of their mission. Christmas Day he spent in the middle of the Atlantic; and as for storms, his voyage was one of the most tempestuous known. One of the finest of ocean steamers, which bore him and his patriotic colleague, was, by stress of weather, delayed between three and four days longer than the ordinary voyage. The excitement throughout Ireland was painful in its intensity as morning after morning went by after the eleventh day, and the telegraph had not flashed back the news of the vessel's safe arrival in New York harbor. When that welcome news did come however, and all fear for Mr. Parnell's safety was at an end, there was a general and grateful sense of relief.

Landlordism dies hard. Scarcely had he set foot on the American shore than he found himself

confronted by a host of hostile influences for which he could scarcely have been prepared. The cables had been busily employed against him in advance ; a section of the press had been "nobbled" ; so too had a section of prominent and once popular Irish-Americans. But the member for Meath was not a man to be easily dismayed. He fronted every foe in turn, and battled as stoutly and steadily in the new arena as in the old. In spite of all opposition, covert as well as open, his mission must be accounted a great success.

It is not necessary to follow him through his American tour. Suffice it to say that his progress was like that of some beloved monarch through crowds of rejoicing subjects. Cities contended for his presence ; invitations rained on him ; deputations waited on him from far off places ; governors of States, mayors of towns, and other public dignitaries, thronged around him ; the thunder of cannon saluted him in many places on his arrival ; the citizen soldiery of a free people frequently lined his route or surrounded his carriage as guards of honor ; great processions were organized for his reception ; darkness was often banished for him by the glare of innumerable lighted torches ; presentations of divers sorts flowed in on him — addresses of welcome, odes and poems, floral wreaths and bouquets ; fêtes and banquets were prepared for him in profusion ; at wayside railway stations he was called on to

speak from his car ; the largest halls were everywhere secured for his lectures, and these were always crammed ; nay, in Chicago, which has one of the vastest and finest opera-houses in the world, that building was deemed far too small for the accommodation of the many thousands who were eager to see and hear him, so the immense Exposition Building of the city was specially prepared for the delivery of his address, and twenty thousand persons, paying each either two or four shillings for the privilege of admission, gathered into the enormous hall on the night he spoke there. The admission fees to his lectures were invariably as high as at Chicago, and the various halls were as invariably packed. Not alone through those fees, but by direct subscription also, he received large sums of money, which he promptly transmitted to Ireland for relief purposes ; to say nothing of the fact that by his presence and proceedings he briskly stimulated sources from which otherwise but little was to be expected, as in the case of the *New York Herald* fund. In short, the man who went to the United States to plead in behalf of a starving people, and denounce the most vicious system of land tenure in the world, had greater than a conqueror's triumphs in his marvellous progress. To crown all, he received from the legislature of the United States, as well as from several of the State legislatures, the highest honor it was in their power to pay, in the granting to

him of the privilege of addressing them from the floor of the chamber precisely as if he were a member. The scene in the Washington House of Representatives was specially remarkable. The galleries of the House were packed immediately upon the opening of the doors, and the floor was filled with members and their wives and daughters to testify their recognition of the services rendered by Mr. Parnell to Ireland. The Speaker of the House introduced the distinguished guest in the following words : —

"The House will be in order. The session of this evening is in consequence of a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives, which the Chair will now cause to be read by the Clerk."

Following the reading of the resolution, the Speaker said : —

"In conformity with the terms of this resolution I have the honor and pleasure to introduce to you Charles Stewart Parnell, of Ireland, who comes among us to speak of the distresses of his country."

When the applause in the densely packed galleries had subsided, Mr. Parnell addressed the House, and was listened to with the closest attention. His address occupied about half an hour in its delivery, and was, says a listener, a "calm and able presentation of the evils under which Ireland suffers."

After the House, on the motion of Mr. O'Connor, of South Carolina, had adjourned, a large

number breasted the severe snow-storm raging to attend the serenade to Mr. Parnell at Willard's Hotel, tendered him by Professor Joyce's band. A collation had been prepared by the Congressional Reception Committee for their distinguished guests. Mr. Young, Governor of Ohio, presided; Mr. O'Connor acting as vice-president. Speaker Randall was also present; and, in truth, the whole company was a distinguished one.

The remarkable honor conferred on Mr. Parnell by the Washington House of Representatives had but three precedents — namely, in the cases of Lafayette, the hero of two continents; the celebrated Bishop England, of Charleston; and Kosuth, the noted Hungarian patriot, when in enforced exile. It should be noted also that the President, surrounded by his Cabinet, gave an audience to Mr. Parnell, as if he were the duly accredited envoy of some organized and independent foreign State. Such honors well mark the effect of the Irish ambassador's mission.



## PART II.

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THE news of the dissolution of Parliament, which reached him while lecturing in Canada, compelled him to bring his American tour to an end, but not before he had succeeded in collecting an enormous sum of money for the relief of the suffering poor of Ireland and for the support and encouragement of the Irish cause. Upon the receipt of the message, he hastened to New York, and, taking the next steamer for Ireland, landed at Queenstown on March 21, 1880, amid the welcoming cheers of the thousands who had assembled to do him honor. The nation regarded him as its savior; and everywhere that he went towns and cities strove to excel each other in giving expression to their appreciation of his services to Ireland.

But, gratifying as such evidences of the public esteem must have been to him, Mr. Parnell could give but little of his time to them. The elections would be upon him shortly, and no one knew better than he the magnitude of the task before him. It would require all his time and all his

energies, and he gave of both unstintedly. For five weeks he travelled incessantly from town to town all over Ireland, arousing the people, perfecting organization, and selecting and setting up candidates for the next Parliament. He worked with a marvellous energy, and gave himself hardly any rest; but he had neither time enough at his disposal nor sufficient funds at his command to enable him to contest all the constituencies. At the ensuing elections, therefore, a number of them had to be let go by default. Still, the result was regarded as a great Parnellite victory; for wherever Mr. Parnell had been able to lay his policy before the people, it had received the sanction of their votes. Mr. Parnell's own popularity may be judged from the fact that he was returned to represent three constituencies, viz., Cork City, Mayo County, and Meath County. The returns showed that thirty-seven National Home Rulers had been elected, while the full Home Rule strength was sixty-two. Many of the members returned as Home Rulers, however, were known to be lukewarm in the popular cause, and several were outspoken in their opposition to Mr. Parnell and his policy.

The first duty of the new party was to choose a leader; and for this position there were two candidates, namely, Mr. Parnell and Mr. William Shaw, Member for Cork County. The latter had been one of Mr. Butt's right-hand men, who, after

the decease of that leader, had been tacitly allowed to direct the party, and he had the support of all the conservative and aristocratic influences in the organization. Most of the men of brains and the men of energy, however, were heartily in favor of the younger candidate. To decide the question, a meeting was called in the City Hall, Dublin, for May 17, 1880, and the balloting resulted in the election of Mr. Parnell by a vote of twenty-three, to eighteen for Mr. Shaw.

This result was hailed with joy by the young men of the party, and by the Irish people generally. They regarded it as the guaranty of a change from the do-nothing to the progressive — nay, to the aggressive — policy ; but there were many expressions of distrust, also, and forebodings of failure to the Home Rule cause. Mr. Shaw's followers — for he still retained a considerable following among the older members — were very sore over the defeat of their chief, and early exhibited a tendency to disloyalty to the new leader, which the croakers said presaged the wrecking of the Home Rule party.

The first break occurred when the new Parliament assembled, on May 20, 1880. On this occasion, Mr. Parnell and his supporters took seats in the Opposition, below the gangway ; while Mr. Shaw and his followers ranged themselves among the Radicals, on the Government side of the House. That the secession was to be a permanent

one soon became evident ; for the Shawites gradually ceased to attend the private meetings of the Irish party, and after a time gave up all pretence even of belonging to that body.

This sundering of its ranks was a serious blow to the Home Rule party ; but those who predicted that it would collapse in consequence, underrated the genius of Mr. Parnell. He regretted the division keenly, for his own sake and for that of Ireland ; but, instead of disheartening him, the loss of twenty-odd members only spurred him on to greater efforts. In the new Parliament, stern duties awaited him ; for the Gladstone Government gave no sign of any intention to deal with the Irish land question — and the land question, in the opinion of Mr. Parnell, could not be neglected except at the risk of great national calamity. By the introduction of a Suspension of Ejectments Bill, and by a series of moves which plainly indicated hostile intentions, he succeeded in forcing the hands of the ministry, and the famous Disturbance Bill was the result. It was during the debate on this bill that Mr. Gladstone gave utterance to his memorable declaration that “in the circumstances of distress in which Ireland then was, a sentence of eviction was equivalent to a sentence of death.” The Disturbance Bill was successfully carried through the Commons, but it was summarily rejected by the House of Lords ; and the Irish leader was once more thrown upon his own resources.

During this session it was conceded on every hand that Mr. Parnell had proved his capacity for leadership, beyond all question, and the judgment of those who had elected him was amply vindicated. After the close of Parliament, he applied himself energetically to the propagation of the principles of the Land League in Ireland, and his labors were crowned with the most satisfactory results. Monster meetings, rivalling those of O'Connell's time, were held all over Ireland, and were addressed by either himself or his lieutenants. The movement increased in strength with marvellous rapidity, and soon developed into the most wide-reaching and most powerful of Irish organizations. Indeed, so rapid was its growth, and the power it developed, that the Government determined to strike a blow. In a speech at Ennis, Mr. Parnell had told the farmers that they were to trust their own determination and their own combination, and to place no faith in the promises of ministers. For this and other speeches, equally revolutionary from a Government point of view, Mr. Parnell, with fourteen of his colleagues in the land agitation, was subjected to a prosecution for "conspiracy to impoverish landlords." The purpose of this prosecution, it was plain to everybody, was to weaken the Land League and intimidate its leaders, but in this it failed utterly and miserably. The Irish people rallied loyally to the support of their leaders, and

the latter boldly defied the government to prove them guilty of any illegal action. A popular fund was subscribed, and the most eminent counsel were retained to defend the traversers. The trial in Dublin followed, and dragged on wearily for many days, but from the first it was evident that



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no conviction could be arrived at, and all interest in the case had flagged long before the end came — the jury standing ten for acquittal and two for conviction. Before this result was reached, the year 1880 had expired.

The year 1881 is memorable in the history of the Parnellite party because of the great fight against Coercion, the passage of Mr. Gladstone's

Land Act, the arrest of Mr. Parnell, Mr. Davitt, John Dillon, and other leaders, the proclamation of the Land League, and the issue of the No Rent manifesto. Parliament met on January 6, 1881, and the government announced its intention to pass a Coercion Bill for Ireland. Mr. Parnell was determined to prevent this, if possible, and on the very first night of the session he began the obstruction by moving an amendment to the address in reply to the Queen's speech, affirming "that peace and tranquillity cannot be promoted in Ireland by suspending any of the constitutional rights of the people." This amendment was debated at length by nearly every one of the Parnellite members, and when it at last reached a division and was defeated, other amendments were brought forward and debated in the same manner, and in this way the passage of the address was delayed for two weeks, despite all the efforts of the Government. But it was not until January 24 that the great fight began in earnest. On that date Mr. Forster asked leave to introduce his "Coercion Bill," and Mr. Gladstone moved that the two coercion bills should have precedence of all other business. The Irish members responded to Mr. Gladstone's motion with defiant jeers, followed by motion after motion of an obstructive character, each motion being discussed at length. During the evening, Mr. Biggar was "named" by the speaker, and was compelled to

withdraw to the gallery ; but his fellow-members kept up the battle until ten o'clock on the following morning, when Mr. Gladstone's motion was finally carried, by a vote of two hundred and fifty-one to thirty-three. But on the question of giving Mr. Forster leave to introduce his bill the Parnellites yet had fighting-ground, and on that they kept the House going from the 27th to the 31st of January.

By that time the Government and most of the English members, it may well be imagined, were furiously angry at the handful of Irishmen who thus brought the traditional dignity of the time-honored Parliament of England into contempt. The English press and the English pulpit hurled the most virulent denunciations upon the devoted head of Mr. Parnell, and the high-toned British journals were made mediums for pouring all sorts of abuse upon, and even of conveying threats of personal violence to, the Irish leader and his followers. But Mr. Parnell and his colleagues held to their course unflinchingly through it all, and the battle went on.

On the 31st of January the Government adopted new tactics, by resorting to the system of relays, relying upon their overwhelming numbers. But the Parnellites were not to be beaten so. They were fortunately possessed of many good speakers, and they divided their little party so as to meet the attack in its new form. All through



that night the struggle raged ; then all the following day and the next night, and the motion to give Mr. Forster leave was only carried at last on the morning of the 2d of February, by the arbitrary action of the Speaker, who himself violated the rules of the House in refusing to "see" the Irish members.

To expedite the passage of the bill itself, and to thwart all further practice of obstruction by the Parnellites, Mr. Gladstone now introduced his new "Urgency Rules," giving the Government extraordinary powers to curtail debate, and ruthlessly abridging many of the cherished privileges of members of Parliament. It was for refusing to take part in the division on these rules that the Parnellites were expelled temporarily from the House. After the adoption of these rules, progress on the "Coercion Bill" became more rapid, and it finally passed the Commons on the 11th of March.

On the 7th of April, 1881, Mr. Gladstone brought forward his famous "Land Act." This bill was a distinct concession to Irish sentiment, and, although far from being perfect, was valuable as a progressive measure. By its provisions, the Irish tenant-farmer was given four things for which he had long contended, viz., peasant proprietorship, fair rents, free sale, and fixity of tenure. Under it, his ancient *tenant-right* was re-established, and if he desired to change from the condi-

tion of a secure tenant to that of a proprietor, and could find an owner willing to sell, he might obtain from the State an advance of three-fourths of the purchase-money; or, if no such opportunity offered, he could yet obtain advantages such as accrue from ownership, by becoming a fee farmer, and this the State would enable him to do by coming to his aid with one-half the sum required.

In the consideration of this measure, Mr. Parnell and his party determined, after much deliberation, to take a neutral position. They were compelled to this course, because the bill was not so complete a one as they had labored to obtain. They knew that it would not satisfy the Irish people, even though it would result materially to their benefit; and Mr. Parnell could not, therefore, accept it as a final solution of the Irish land question. Still, he recognized the fact that in compelling the Government to give its attention to the Irish land question, even though it was done half-heartedly, the Irish cause had scored a victory, and for that reason he would not place any obstacles in the way of the passage of the measure. Indeed, at least one Irish member, Mr. T. M. Healy, openly disobeyed the party injunction, and took an active part in helping the bill through. One result of this disobedience was the "Healy Clause," the most radical clause in the bill, which provided that "no rent should be made payable in any proceedings under the act upon any im-

provements effected by the tenant or his predecessor in title"; but this clause was modified in the House of Lords by an addition which read, "unless the tenant has been paid or otherwise compensated for these improvements" and the addition practically nullified the clause, for, by a quibbling decision of the courts, it was afterwards held that enjoyment of the use of the improvements constituted compensation within the meaning of the act, which was as much as to say that by enjoying the use of his own property a man invalidates his title in it.

Mr. Parnell was severely criticised at the time for the position which he took with respect to this bill; but time and circumstances have successfully vindicated his judgment. He had forced the Government to make an effort to redress crying Irish grievances; but, as the measure which they proposed was not, as he then believed — and everybody now concedes — an adequate one, he would not accept it as being perfect. He was, however, desirous that, as a progressive measure, the bill should pass; and on two occasions when the bill was in peril he went promptly to its aid, and by the votes of the Irish party saved it from defeat. The "Land Act" finally passed the House of Commons on July 28; a few days later it passed the Lords, and early in August it received the Royal signature and became a law.

Mr. Parnell now turned his attention to enabling the tenant-farmers to avail themselves of the

beneficial provisions of the act, and in the way of this there were many serious obstacles. The expense of application to the courts was large; the landlords were disposed to resist every reduction in rents; and, on the whole, it was doubtful if the expense of litigation would not more than offset any reductions that might eventually result. Under these circumstances, Mr. Parnell considered that it was the duty of the Land League to back up the tenants, particularly as the landlords had organized a Defence Association to protect their interests; and he at once began preparing a number of test cases to submit to the courts at the expense of the League, his idea being that when these were decided they would form a basis upon which all other reductions could be made.

The Land League in Ireland was now enjoying the height of its power, and its ramifications extended to the remotest portions of the land. It had become, perhaps, the most potent organization in Irish history. Its meetings equalled in magnitude the famous assemblies of the Repeal agitation, and they were much more frequently held. It had assumed the form of a system of government, eclipsing the recognized government of Ireland; its edicts were regarded as the highest law by the great majority of the people, and its constituted courts were more largely resorted to than those of the realm.

It was this powerful engine which Mr. Parnell

now proposed to bring to the aid of the tenants in securing an impartial administration of the new Land Act, and upon the assembling of the League convention in Dublin, after the close of Parliament, he laid the subject before the one thousand delegates, for their consideration, and submitted his plan of action, which was unanimously approved of. The resolutions passed by the convention respecting the test cases, and Mr. Parnell's speech in their support, attracted great attention in England and Ireland, and were bitterly commented upon by the Government organs. Mr. Gladstone, in particular, was very wroth at the Irish leader, and in a speech which he made at Leeds, Eng., in defence of his Land Bill, he publicly accused Mr. Parnell of being the instigator of outrages in Ireland. He charged the Irish leader with preaching public plunder also, and heaped up reproaches upon him because he did not publicly repudiate the acts of the dynamiters in England.

The speech was, in fact, a severe and measured arraignment of Mr. Parnell's political life and purposes, and it must be said that the Prime Minister displayed but little regard for the proprieties, or even for truth, in its delivery. Mr. Parnell had always discountenanced outrages in Ireland, and did all in his power to prevent them. "Give no excuse for violence on the part of the Government," he time and again told the people, "and

our great cause is won." Nor could the slightest proof be brought forward to connect him with the dynamiters either in act or sympathy. Mr. Gladstone was at the time, however, apprehensive of the success of his bill, and this may be pleaded, perhaps, in extenuation of his virulence. He assumed — and quite gratuitously, too — that Mr. Parnell was opposed to the purposes of the Land Act, and that he was going to render it inoperative simply by getting the farmers not to make applications under it; whereas, in truth, Mr. Parnell was acting all the while in the greatest good faith. He was not satisfied with the measure, it is true, but he frankly acknowledged that it had good points in it, and, if fairly administered, would conduce considerably to the benefit of the Irish tenant-farmers. And it was that this benefit might be secured without loss and without curtailment, that he proposed that the bill should be taken advantage of in a systematic manner. Those best qualified to judge of the subject, including the Land Commissioners themselves, have since confessed that Mr. Parnell's plan was comprehensive, feasible, and decisive, and one calculated to secure uniformity of judgment, and, as a consequence, a decrease of litigation, which would result in a saving to landlords and tenants alike. His action and advice were, moreover, entirely constitutional. He simply proposed that the tenants act in combination, instead of individually, the end in view

being to obtain the greatest amount of benefit at the smallest possible cost. The landlords had a Property Defence Fund Association, representing at the time five million pounds, and the object of it was to weaken, or even to defeat, the purposes of the act—an illegal object, while Mr. Parnell's was a lawful one; yet Mr. Gladstone and Englishmen generally had never breathed a word of remonstrance against the one, while they unsparingly denounced the other.

But Mr. Parnell is not a man who will tamely submit to calumny from any quarter, high or low, and, in this instance, he did not allow the Prime Minister to go unrebuked. Two days later he addressed upwards of ten thousand people at Wexford, and in the course of his speech answered Mr. Gladstone in kind. His utterances were singularly open and defiant. He told the people that they had gained something during the Land League movement, but that what they had gained was only a fraction of what they were entitled to. "The Irishman," he said, "who thinks that he can throw away his arms now, just as Grattan disbanded the Volunteers, in 1782, will find, to his sorrow and destruction, when too late that he has placed himself in the power of a perfidious, cruel, unrelenting English enemy." Again, in referring to Mr. Gladstone's charge that he (Mr. Parnell) was afraid, now that the Land Act was passed, lest the people of England, by their long-sus-

tained efforts, should win the hearts of the whole Irish nation, Mr. Parnell said, "Long-sustained efforts in what? Was it in evicting two thousand tenants, who have been evicted since the first of last January? Was it in putting the two hundred honorable and brave men in Kilmainham and the other jails of the country? Was it in issuing a police circular of a more infamous character than any which has ever been devised by any foreign despot? Was it in the sending of hundreds of thousands of rounds of ball-cartridges to his Bashi-Bazouks throughout the country? Was it in sharpening the bayonets of the latest issue to the royal Irish constabulary? And if it was not all these sustained efforts, which Mr. Gladstone has taken up nobly and well from his predecessors in the title, of misgoverning Ireland, I should like to know what were the efforts of which William Ewart Gladstone talks. He charges us with having refused to vote for the second reading of his Land Act; he charges us with having used every effort to disparage, to discredit, and, if we could, to destroy his Land Bill; he points to our refusal to compromise our position, by voting on the second reading, as his proof; and then he goes on to say that on every subsequent occasion, on the two subsequent occasions when that bill was really in danger, I and the Irish party rescued Gladstone and his cabinet by our thirty-six votes from destruction and defeat. And then in the



close of his speech he admits our whole position and contention. In one last despairing wail, he says that when the Government is expected to preserve the peace it has no moral force behind it. The Government has no moral force behind it in Ireland. The whole Irish people are against them. They have to depend for their support on the self-interest of a very small minority of the people of this country, and, therefore, they have no moral force behind them. Mr. Gladstone, in those few short words, admits that the English Government has failed in Ireland; he admits the contention that Grattan and the volunteers of '82 fought for; he admits the contention that the men of '98 lost their lives for; he admits the contention that O'Connell argued for; he admits the contention that the men of '48 staked their all for; he admits the contention that the men of '65, after a long period of depression and of apparent death of all national life in Ireland, cheerfully faced the dungeon and the horrors of penal servitude for, and admits the contention that to-day you, in your overpowering multitudes, have re-established, and, please God, will bring to a successful and final issue; namely, that England's mission in Ireland has been a failure, and that Irishmen have established their right to govern Ireland by laws made by themselves for themselves on Irish soil. And he winds up with a threat. This man—who has no moral force

behind him—he winds up with a threat. ‘No fear of force and no fear of ruin through force shall, so far as we are concerned, and it is in our power to decide the question, prevent the Irish people from having the full and free benefit of the Land Act.’ I say it is not in his power to trample on the aspirations and the rights of the Irish people, with no moral force behind him. These are very brave words that he uses, but it strikes me that they have a ring about them like the whistle of a schoolboy on his way through a churchyard at night to keep up his courage. He would have you to believe that he is not afraid of you, because he has disarmed you, because he has attempted to disorganize you, because he knows that the Irish nation is to-day disarmed, so far as physical weapons go. But he does not hold this kind of language with the Boers. What did he do at the commencement of the session? He said something of this kind. He said he was going to put them down; but, as soon as he had discovered that they were able to shoot straighter than his own soldiers, he allowed these few men to put himself and his government down, and, though he has attempted to regain some of his lost position in the Transvaal by the subsequent chicanery of diplomatic negotiations, yet that sturdy and small people in the distant Transvaal have seen through Mr. William Ewart Gladstone, and they have told him again, for a

second time, that they will not have their liberties filched from them; and, as the result, I believe we shall see that Mr. Gladstone will again yield to the people of the Transvaal. And I trust we shall see, as the result of this great movement, that, just as Mr. Gladstone, by the act of 1881, has eaten all his bold words, has departed from all his former declared principles, so we shall see that these brave words of this English Prime Minister will be scattered as chaff before the united and advancing determination of the Irish people to regain for themselves their lost land and their lost legislative independence."

A few days afterwards, on October 13, Mr. Parnell was himself arrested and cast into Kilmainham jail, but whether it was for this speech, or for having promulgated during the Tyrone campaign the famous "prairie rent" doctrine as the logic of the Healy Clause, or for insisting on the test cases, or for all of these reasons, that he was thus honored, will never, perhaps, be known. Then as a retaliatory measure came the No-Rent manifesto, in which the tenants were advised "to pay no rents under any circumstances to their landlords until the government relinquishes the existing system of terrorism and restores the constitutional rights of the people." The policy of the No-Rent declaration is rarely questioned now. Even at that time Nationalists were by no means hearty or unanimous in support of it, and

as a policy it was foredoomed to defeat. It might — and it did — succeed in bringing some of the landlords to a condition of destitution, but it will be now generally admitted that it could not achieve any permanent benefit for Ireland. It might starve a few landlords, but it could not wrest the ownership of the land away from them, nor could it vest that ownership in the tenants. Even if such sort of resistance was feasible, — and if a movement of the kind ever could have succeeded no time was surely so propitious as that at which the manifesto was issued, — the differences among Nationalists with regard to its advisability would alone be fatal to its success. The Catholic clergy were opposed to it almost to a man, and Archbishop Croke wrote an open letter to the *Dublin Freeman* protesting against the doctrine enunciated in it. The Nationalist press, too, was divided on the question, and many journals, notably the *Freeman*, opposed it. The settlements effected in the land courts, too, were attracting people to them, and many landlords came forward and voluntarily made large reductions to their tenants, and these following each other day by day had the effect of materially weakening the No-Rent movement. There can be no doubt, however, but what the advice given in the manifesto was very generally followed, and as a consequence many landlords were reduced to a condition bordering on poverty.

The question now was whether Mr. Parnell or the Queen was to be the paramount power in Ireland, and the government took up the issue with a vengeance. The Land League was now declared to be an illegal organization; the local branches were dissolved by proclamation; the leaders of the people were summarily arrested, and cast into prison without being accorded even the grace of a trial; the Nationalist press was muzzled; the boasted privileges of the British constitution were practically cancelled, so far, at least, as Ireland was concerned, and liberty of speech or meeting existed no longer. In this emergency the women of Ireland formed the Ladies' Land League and took the place of the men in looking after the evicted and the families of those who were in prison. Mr. Parnell's sister, Anna, took a prominent and active part in this movement and performed many brave deeds. But the Government soon proclaimed this organization also, and many of the ladies were arrested and thrown into jail.

A reign of terror, absolute, terrible, existed in Ireland, and no man if free to-day could be sure that he would not be in jail on the morrow. The constabulary used their "brief authority" as inexorably as any soldiers of tyrants ever had, and they were as sanguinary, too, for they shot men down daily if they but dared to assemble in groups, or did not instantly betake themselves from the streets or roads when ordered. Even

the helplessness of womanhood or the innocence of childhood was no protection from the ferocity of these warriors, for they fired upon women and children with as little compunction as upon men. And during this dreadful period a vast horde of agents and bailiffs and military were constantly employed in the work of evicting, and the number of ejectments, which in 1879 was but 1348, rose in 1880 to 10,457, and in 1881 to upwards of sixteen thousand. In the first quarter of 1882, there were more than seven thousand evictions, and the *Dublin Freeman* computed that the number would reach fifty thousand before the year expired.

Many of these evictions took place under circumstances of the most barbarous inhumanity. Sick men and sick women were seized upon in the very height of their maladies, and mercilessly flung out of their homes on to the roadway, to starve or perish; and more than one instance is on record of cases where people have died while the bailiffs were in the very act of ejecting them. Even the *London Times* was constrained to admit at this time that it was "an irksome, not to say an odious, task to enforce wholesale evictions and to compel the payment of rent by military or quasi-military force," and it recognized the obligation "not less stringent on the landlord's part to abstain from oppressive and unreasonable demands on tenants whose inability to pay in full is clearly

demonstrated. It cannot be reasonably doubted," it continued to say, "that there are such cases, and, whether they be few or many, their existence, and the bitter resentments they engender, are the festering source of the discontents which make Ireland so turbulent and irreconcilable."

It is not strange that amid such a condition of things the bullet and the dagger were coming into prominence. The voice of the agitator was heard no more from the platform, but agrarian crimes were increasing with alarming rapidity, and by the spring of 1882 the Government was ready to admit that coercion was not progressing very fast in restoring peace to Ireland. The state of things in that country had never been so bad; and, despairing at last of his own remedies, Mr. Gladstone opened up communications with the imprisoned leader of the Irish people. The Kilmainham Treaty followed his advances, and on May 2 Mr. Parnell and others of the suspects were once more in the enjoyment of their liberty. This treaty was a notable triumph for Mr. Parnell, and redounded greatly to the credit of his diplomatic abilities. By its terms, Earl Cowper, the Lord-Lieutenant, and W. E. Forster, the Chief Secretary, were to be recalled forthwith; the coercion policy was to be abandoned; an arrears bill, drafted by Mr. Parnell in his cell, was to be adopted, and pledges made to radically amend the Land Act. On Mr. Parnell's part it is not clear

that any consideration was given other than the withdrawal of the No-Rent manifesto and the acceptance of his own freedom and that of his fellow-suspects.

Leaders and people were alike jubilant at this happy termination of the great struggle; and the bonfires blazing from hundreds of hilltops attested the exultation of the nation at the great victory. An unarmed people had successfully resisted and overcome all the mighty forces of the Empire, and now the minister who had instigated and defended coercion was to be thrown over at their demand; the lord-lieutenant who had enforced it so vigorously was to be asked to resign; the entire policy of repression was to be abandoned; and every amendment to the Land Act which the League had advocated was practically conceded in principle.

But the Phoenix Park assassinations of the 6th of May, 1882, destroyed all this fair prospect, and crushed back again the rising hopes of the Irish nation. Repression became the order of the day in Ireland, and Mr. Parnell found himself once more the leader of a desperate and unequal fight against a new coercion bill, more rigorously severe than any that had preceded it. For a few brief days he had sailed on the highest crest of the wave; but the shocking deed of Carey and his dupes had thrown him back, with his party, into the deepest trough of the sea. But Mr. Parnell



is not the man to let misfortune or reverses cool his ardor or damp his courage, and the fight which he made against the Crimes Bill was as bold as, and even more skilful than, the famous battle of the previous year; but, though its progress was exceedingly slow, the bill passed at last, and on July 12 it received the Royal assent and became a law.

The measures carried at this session were not, however, all coercive. One, at any rate, was remedial, the Arrears of Rent Act, which Mr. Parnell had induced the government to adopt. This bill was introduced on May 15, and was really a very important concession to Ireland, liquidating by a stroke of the pen millions of pounds of the tenants' indebtedness. Of the outstanding claims of Irish landlords against their tenants, — computed by some as high as seventeen million pounds, and never placed below ten million pounds, — this bill disallowed all but four million pounds, and of this latter sum the Government was to pay one-half from the Irish Church Surplus Fund.

During the recess of Parliament this year, Mr. Parnell undertook the task of taking up once more the broken threads of organization, and at a conference held in the Ancient Concert Rooms, in Dublin, in October, 1882, the Irish National League was inaugurated. The conference was one of the largest ever held in Dublin, and its

deliberations were marked by an ardor and earnestness that augured well for the success of the new movement. Mr. Parnell presided, and in a temperate and statesmanlike speech reviewed the work of the Land League, and explained the plan of the new organization, whose constitution, as proposed, contained five leading features, viz., national self-government, land-law reform, local self-government, the extension of the parliamentary and municipal franchises, and the development and encouragement of the labor and industrial interests of Ireland. Mr. Parnell was unanimously chosen president of the new organization, and at the close of the conference he began the work of organizing with such vigor that before the new year opened branches of the League were flourishing all over the island.

Shortly before the assembling of Parliament for the session of 1883 came the revelations of James Carey, one of the men arrested for the Phoenix Park murder, who had turned informer. By his own confession this man was a very monster in crime. He admitted that he was a leader in the Invincibles, and that the killing of Lord Cavendish and Under-Secretary Burke was done under his direction. There is no need to go over the details of the trial here. Suffice it to say that Carey's evidence was accepted by the jury as conclusive, and that five of the men whom his testi-

mony incriminated suffered the extreme penalty of the law, while the others were given long terms of imprisonment. Carey himself, although the greatest criminal of all, was given his liberty, in consideration of his services as informer, and the Government furnished him with funds with which to leave the country. He went first to England, under police protection, and from thence he took passage for South Africa under an assumed name ; but the doom of the informer sought him out, and he was recognized and shot down, just as he reached port, by a fellow-passenger, named Patrick O'Donnell. Such was the miserable end of the wretch who planned and directed the Phoenix Park murders, and who thought to save his own life by informing on his unfortunate associates in crime. O'Donnell was brought back to England, and in the course of a few months he was tried, convicted, and executed for his act, and went to his end fearlessly. A monument has since been erected in Dublin to his memory.

The evidence given by Carey at the Phoenix Park trials in Dublin was made the most unscrupulous use of by the politicians and journalists of England, and by these it was broadly insinuated that Mr. Parnell was the inspirer, if not the associate, of the assassins. Ex-Chief Secretary Foster seized upon the revelations with avidity, and used them vindictively in the effort to overthrow his great antagonist. On February 22, 1883, he

made a cruel, deliberate, and wicked speech in the House of Commons, in the course of which he charged Mr. Parnell with connivance at assassination and the perpetration of outrages. The attack made a tremendous sensation at the time; but its effect was entirely counteracted by Mr. Parnell's reply on the following evening. In his speech, the Irish leader was dignified and disdainful to a degree that delighted his countrymen and astounded his enemies. His opening was characteristic: "I assure the House, —and though it is not, perhaps, a very respectful assurance, I make it with the greatest respect, —I assure the House that I do not expect that anything I can say will have the slightest effect upon the public opinion of England. The utmost that I desire to do is to make my position clear to *the Irish* people at home and abroad."

It was in Irish public opinion that Mr. Parnell was solicitous of standing well; as to what Englishmen might think of him, to that he was indifferent. And the Irish people were not backward in showing their appreciation of his attitude. A few days before the Forster incident, the Avoca branch of the Irish National League had initiated a subscription in Wicklow to save from the hammer the ancient patrimony of the Parnells, and, quickened by a sense of shame that their leader should, unrequited, have impoverished himself in their cause, the people of Ireland now proposed to

make the testimonial a national one, as an effective protest against the attack of the Irish ex-secretary. A letter from Archbishop Croke to the *Freeman*, accompanied by a subscription of fifty pounds, gave a start to the movement, and contributions began to pour in from all parts of the country, from the United States, and from Canada and Australia. In the course of a few months, the nation's tribute assumed the magnificent dimensions of nearly forty thousand pounds, and was then presented to Mr. Parnell at a banquet given in his honor in Dublin.

The parliamentary achievements of Mr. Parnell and his party in 1883 were not, perhaps, so brilliant as those of former years, but they were still substantial. At the beginning of the session, the government had announced that it was to be devoted to the consideration of English and Scotch measures, and that no Irish reform legislation might be expected; but the Irish leader was determined not to allow the year to pass without gaining some concessions for Ireland, and, as a result of his efforts, the Laborers' Bill, the Fisheries Bill, and the Migration Bill — all important Irish measures — were successfully carried through.

In Ireland the record of the National movement was in the main eminently satisfactory. During the year, a splendid testimonial had been subscribed to Mr. Parnell; the by-elections in Mallow, Tipperary, Westmeath, Wexford Borough,

Wexford County, Monaghan, Sligo, and Limerick had been an unbroken series of Nationalist triumphs, and, in the local elections, Nationalist mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, councillors, and guardians had been elected in nearly every city and town in Ireland. Thus the movement was everywhere asserting its growing power.

But all was not sunshine for the Nationalists, nevertheless. Arrests and prosecutions under the Crimes Act were again being made by wholesale; and some of the most prominent men in the country were among the victims. The Orangemen, too, were causing much trouble. They attacked peaceable Nationalist meetings almost daily, and many fatalities resulted; and while the strong hand of the law was promptly invoked to disperse Nationalist assemblies, the disorderly proceedings of Orange bands were encouraged and connived at. Mr. Parnell exposed the Government's partiality time and again in Parliament; and under pressure of his vigorous remonstrances Earl Spencer was compelled at length to impose a certain measure of restraint upon Orange lawlessness, but his efforts in this direction only went far enough to estrange the Orange leaders, without satisfying the Nationalists.

The session of 1884 was notable only for the passage of Mr. Gladstone's Franchise Bill, which increased the voting power of the United Kingdom by about 2,000,000, — 1,300,000 being for Eng-

land, 400,000 for Ireland, and 200,000 for Scotland. The purpose of this act was to assimilate the county to the borough franchise, and under its provisions, persons rated to the relief of the poor, persons occupying land or tenements of the clear annual value of ten pounds, lodgers who paid not less than ten pounds per annum for rent, and persons occupying, by reason of any service, premises in respect of which an owner or tenant would be entitled to vote, provided that such owner or tenant did not occupy said premises, were entitled to be registered as voters in counties and boroughs. The bill did not, however, abolish the old property qualifications in counties. Persons possessed of freehold property of the value of forty shillings, or of copyhold or leasehold property of the clear annual value of five pounds, were still entitled to be registered in the counties. With these few exceptions the parliamentary franchise may be described as household suffrage.

When this bill was first introduced, the Orangemen and the Tories fought hard against admitting Ireland to its benefits, and it was even proposed by many Liberals to confine its provisions to England and Scotland, and to treat with Ireland later in a separate bill; but Mr. Parnell promptly put his veto upon this scheme. He knew that if once the English and Scotch got all they wanted, they would leave the Irish to shift for themselves; so he gave Mr. Gladstone to understand that Ire-

land must be made a sharer in the benefits conferred by his measure, and in the same bill, or he would do his utmost to defeat it. And he could defeat it, too; for, in addition to the votes of his own party, he had pledges of support from a large number of Radicals. Under these circumstances, Mr. Gladstone had no alternative but to include Ireland in his bill, and he did so accordingly.

But in pushing the bill through, the Government had to contend against the strongest opposition from the illiberal elements in the Commons, and when it was passed at last, the House of Lords shelved it by adopting an amendment, postponing action on the subject until a Redistribution of Seats Bill could be introduced. The Government had, however, committed itself to the measure, and Mr. Gladstone now made use of all the resources at his command to force the upper chamber into acquiescence with the views of the ministry. During the recess of Parliament, a fierce agitation was begun all over England in favor of the bill, and its popularity with the masses was unmistakably demonstrated. The result was that when the bill was brought forward again at the autumn session, the Lords gave way, and on December 6 the measure received the Queen's signature and became a law.

In Ireland, the Nationalists signalized the year by a determined onslaught upon the iniquities of



Dublin Castle. Mr. William O'Brien, member of Parliament for Mallow, and editor of *United Ireland*, the League organ, had become aware of the bestial practices of certain officials high in favor with the authorities, and he set on foot an investigation, which resulted in the exposure of James



WILLIAM O'BRIEN.

Ellis French, the head of the detective department, and Secretary Cornwall, of the Dublin Post-office. Mr. O'Brien's charges made a great sensation at the time, and though the Government tried to discredit them, the State was finally compelled, in self-defence, to bring an action for felony against Cornwall, French, and their accomplices, in the course of which Mr. O'Brien's

charges were proved to the satisfaction of everybody except the wretched prisoners. The result of these trials was very gratifying to the Nationalists, for two reasons : It tended greatly to weaken the system of misgovernment against which they were contending, and it caused the resignation of Chief Secretary Trevelyan, though that gentleman's ostensible reason for giving up his position was to accept of a sinecure.

And while the Government was struggling to uphold itself in Ireland, the arms of England were tarnished by defeats in distant lands. Mr. Gladstone's Government, in the interest of the Khedive of Egypt, had undertaken to suppress the revolt of El Mahdi in the Soudan, but the contract proved more difficult to fulfil than had been anticipated. Instead of summarily putting down the rebellion, the Anglo-Egyptian army in Central Africa itself met with many calamitous reverses, and the dashing Bedouins of the False Prophet, more than a score of times, fleshed their spears upon a retreating foe. These defeats caused great consternation in England, and added greatly to the troubles of the Gladstone ministry, which was, of course, held to be responsible for the disastrous course of events in the land of the Sphinx. When it became known that Khartoum had fallen, and that General Gordon and his companions of the garrison were all massacred, the excitement arose to a wild pitch, and it was thought that the

ministers would have to succumb before the storm. But Mr. Gladstone's great parliamentary skill brought them safely through. On February 27, 1885, Sir Stafford Northcote proposed a vote of censure against the cabinet, but the motion was defeated, although it received the united support of the Tories and Parnellites. The vote was a very close one, however, and the ministers were inclined to regard it as equivalent to a defeat, being actually divided upon the question of continuing in office, but it was finally decided not to resign.

To still further add to the burdens of the ministry, the Government now became involved in a controversy with Russia over the Afghan boundary question, and a war between the two Empires was only averted after much diplomatic negotiation and mutual concessions by the parties to the issue.

In April of this year the Prince and Princess of Wales, with their eldest son, and a royal train of attendants, made a tour of Ireland, and visited nearly all the large cities and towns. The Government remembered the saying of Swift, that "loyalty is the foible of the Irish," and it was probably hoped that the presence of royalty in the country would have a salutary effect in toning down the hostility of, or in winning over, the people from the influence of Parnell. But if such hopes were entertained, they were certainly not

realized. In Dublin and Belfast, it is true, the welcome accorded the royal party was somewhat extravagant, but in these cases the demonstrations were gotten up under the direction of the Castle, and the audiences to which the Prince was introduced were carefully selected from the loyalist class. Wherever the people got a chance to give expression to their feelings, however, his reception was far from cordial, and in Cork and Waterford especially the Prince and his party were roundly hissed as they made their way through the streets, while the tones of the national anthem, "God save Ireland," and lusty cheers for Parnell, ascending from thousands of throats, fairly drowned the music of the military bands. At Kilmacthemas, in Waterford, the board of guardians had a black flag flying from the poorhouse, as the only mark of greeting to the Prince upon his arrival, and at another station in the same county a flag was flying which bore the motto "We'll hae na Prince but Charlie." In the West the reception was hardly more comforting, and even in Ulster, the home of the Orangemen, the welcome was rather a cold one. The attitude of the public corporations, too, was distinctly uncordial, many of the chief representative bodies in Ireland, including those of Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Waterford, and Wexford, deliberately refusing to extend addresses of welcome. On the whole, the result of the two weeks' visit

was not such as to justify gratification either in the Prince or in the Government.

Circumstances were all now working favorably for Mr. Parnell's plans. The Crimes Act was about to expire by limitation, and the cabinet was seriously divided on the question of its renewal. Mr. Gladstone and a section of his cabinet were said to be in favor of letting the act drop, and depending upon the ordinary laws for the preservation of order in Ireland, but another and a stronger section of the cabinet strenuously insisted on the re-enactment of the measure, and these threatened to resign if their wishes were not respected. To add to the perplexities of the situation, Mr. Parnell was working very hard to organize an effective opposition to the measure, should it be brought forward, and it was said that he had as many as thirty Tories and fifty Radicals pledged to aid him in defeating it. It began to look as though the cabinet would go to pieces on the Crimes Act anyway, but Mr. Gladstone finally patched up a truce between the members by agreeing to re-enact the Crimes Bill in a modified form, and at the same time introduce a local self-government bill for Ireland.

But if this compromise was successful in uniting the members of the cabinet, it by no means satisfied Mr. Parnell. He was opposed to the Crimes Bill, no matter in what form it might be presented, and the sugar-coating of a local gov-

ernment bill did not hide its unpalatableness. He was determined to prevent the re-enactment of the bill, or, if possible, to overthrow the Government before it had a chance to introduce the measure, and an opportunity to do this latter offered in the Government's Budget Bill. By this bill Mr. Gladstone proposed to increase the tax on beer and spirits, in order to make up the deficit caused by the Soudan campaign and the preparations for war with Russia, and the proposition was received with marked signs of popular disapproval. Great demonstrations were held in London and other places to protest against the tax, and a powerful party was organized in Parliament to oppose it. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had proposed an amendment to the motion for a second reading of the Budget, censuring the ministry, and Mr. Parnell was quick to foresee that this amendment was destined to be the death-blow of the Government. He sent out urgent whips to the absent members of his party requesting them to be present for the division, at all hazards, and when the vote was taken, on June 8, — the very day that the cabinet finally agreed to re-enact the Crimes Act, — the Government was beaten by a vote of two hundred and sixty-four to two hundred and fifty-two, thirty-nine Irish members voting with the majority. On the next day Mr. Gladstone announced that the ministers had decided to resign, and requested an adjourn-

ment in order that the Queen might be communicated with.

Thus fell the strongest ministry of the century, and Mr. Parnell had cause for elation in the knowledge that with it fell coercion for Ireland forever. The defeat was due to his action, and that of his party, in refusing to uphold a ministry from which they had received nothing but broken promises, and from which Ireland could expect nothing but injustice, as was foreshadowed in the proposed attempt to again saddle upon her the iniquitous provisions of the Crimes Act. The pleasure and advantage of the defeat to the Parnellites was increased by the fact that by it almost the only remaining Irish industry was saved from a burden of five hundred thousand pounds a year.

But the action of the party was not dictated by motives of the moment, but was inspired by a policy which the Parnellites had followed for years, that of turning out the Government at any cost, as a lesson for all future governments with regard to the determination of the Irish people not to submit to unconstitutional government. They had for years followed out this policy in the most determined fashion, had pushed the ministers closely upon many previous divisions, and had beaten them more than once, though, unhappily, not on occasions when they were obliged to resign.

The Tories, at the desire of the Queen, now formed a government, of which Lord Salisbury was the head and Lord Churchill the dominant spirit, and the new government, under the advice of Churchill, determined to let the Crimes Act lapse. The forty votes which Mr. Parnell controlled were indispensable to the Tory government, and a strong effort was made to conciliate him. Earl Spencer was recalled from Ireland and was succeeded as Lord-Lieutenant by the Earl of Carnarvon, and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman was replaced as Chief Secretary by Sir William Hart Dyke, who announced a determination to rule Ireland without oppressing the people. But the most unequivocal evidence of Mr. Parnell's power under the new order of things was given in the Government's promise to make an inquiry into the circumstances of the celebrated Maamtrasna murder case, and to redress, as far as possible, any injustice that might be brought to light. The Irish members had often tried before to obtain an investigation of this case, being convinced that some of the men convicted by the aid of packed juries and suborned witnesses had suffered unjustly, but their efforts had been invariably unsuccessful. In this instance, their success was the more noteworthy because it was considered to be contrary to all precedent to allow the acts of a former government to be inquired into, and the concession went to show that Lord Salisbury's



government considered the support of Mr. Parnell as necessary in order to maintain itself in power. The existence of this feeling of dependence and spirit of conciliation in the mind of the Government, was further shown in the introduction and passage of the Land Purchase Bill. With the passage of this measure, the Parliament of 1885 practically closed, it being prorogued on August 14, the Queen, in her speech, giving notice of her purpose before long to seek the counsel of her people by a dissolution.

The principal measures affecting Ireland in the legislation of this year were the Redistribution of Seats Bill, the amendment of the Irish Registration laws, and the Land Purchase Bill. The first and second of these bills were brought forward and passed by the Gladstone government, while the Land Purchase Bill was a Tory measure. The Redistribution Bill reapportioned the Parliamentary representation in the United Kingdom as nearly as possible on the basis of one member of Parliament for every fifty-four thousand two hundred persons. The net results of the measure are thus summarized: ninety-six English, two Scotch, and twenty Irish constituencies were abolished; thirty-eight English boroughs that had two members each were only to have one in future, and three Irish boroughs suffered a like loss. On the other hand, twenty-four English counties, whose representatives numbered one hundred and

eleven, would in future have one hundred and seventy-nine, and four Scotch counties, represented by five members, were given twelve ; ten Irish counties, which had only twenty members, were, by the new apportionment, given forty-two ; fifteen English boroughs, of thirty-three members, were given sixty-six, and two Irish boroughs, of four members,—Dublin and Belfast,—were given eight.

The amendment to the Irish Registration law was made at the instance of Mr. Parnell, who pressed it earnestly upon the Government until it was finally adopted. By this amendment the Irish law was assimilated in all beneficial respects to that of England, and it was even better than the English law in that it did not disqualify persons who had received medical relief.

The Land Purchase Bill was an attempt at further legislation in the direction of Mr. Gladstone's Land Act of 1881, and was designed to promote the establishment of a peasant proprietary class in Ireland, the Government offering under it to advance three-fourths, or even the whole, of the purchase money, to intending purchasers of small holdings, at four per cent interest for forty-nine years, the money for the purpose to be taken from the Irish Church Surplus Fund. The bill also provided a cheap and simple form for the conveyance of land, and it was to be administered by the existing land commission, re-enforced by two Commissioners.

Immediately upon the prorogation of Parliament, Mr. Parnell began the work of preparing for the general elections, and prosecuted it with great vigor. He had no doubts of the patriotism or the strength of the people in the impending contest, but he was solicitous that only such men should be put up for election as would be loyal to the principles of the National party and the National cause through thick and thin. The question with him then was how to prevent traitors in the ranks, and to consider this he called a meeting of his followers in Dublin on August 25, at which it was resolved to advise all Nationalist constituencies to select no candidate without first consulting with Mr. Parnell, and to vote for none who would not subscribe to the following pledge: —

I pledge myself that, in the event of my election to Parliament, I will sit, act, and vote with the Irish parliamentary party; and if at a meeting of the party, convened upon due notice specially to consider the question, it be determined by a resolution, supported by a majority of the entire parliamentary party, that I have not fulfilled the above pledge, I hereby undertake forthwith to resign my seat.

At this meeting, too, it was laid down as a principle by Mr. Parnell, and unanimously assented to by his colleagues, that the Irish party should, in future, have a programme with only one plank in it, and that that one should be the national

independence of Ireland. Addressing a public meeting in Dublin on the same day, Mr. Parnell asserted that the triumph of the Irish cause was assured whether the Liberals or the Tories won in the elections. "If we use judgment and moderation," he asserted, "we shall see the English parties competing to settle the Irish question, and there is something solemn and dazzling in the thought that we belong to a generation about to witness the finish of a struggle of seven hundred years opposed by such tremendous obstacles and odds. Only the Irish can defeat themselves. The English Parliament cannot defeat us. We have met and beaten the worst that England can do."

In thus boldly coming out for Home Rule pure and simple, the Irish leader called down upon his head the most bitter and denunciatory criticisms from the anti-Nationalist press of Ireland and England. Until then English politicians had been buried in contemplation of the great problem of how the cat would jump. The leaders had maintained an unbroken silence on the future conduct of affairs in Ireland, and now into this void the clear notes of Mr. Parnell penetrated with exultant tone and shocked them into an awakening as from a lethargic sleep. The great English newspapers all discussed the speech and the resolutions in lengthy editorials, and all were emphatic in agreeing that Home Rule for Ireland was not to be thought of. The *Times* held that Mr. Par-

nell's declaration amounted to separation from England, and such a proposition, it asserted, would never be assented to. The principals among the politicians, or those of them who gave expression to their opinions, seemed to hold the same views, and Lord Hartington, in opening the campaign for the Liberals at Rosendale, declared that "the demand for national independence for Ireland could only be answered by the word 'impossible.'" To these vaporings Mr. Parnell's reply was prompt, and scornfully defiant in tone.

In a speech made at the Mansion House in Dublin on Sept. 1, he told his English critics bluntly that "If it be sought to make it impossible for one country to obtain the right of administering its own affairs, we will make all other things impossible for those who said so."

The general elections were to be held in November; and it behooved the Nationalists to set about the selection of candidates at once, and they lost no time in doing so. Mr. Parnell had a plan for the payment of the Nationalist members from a fund to be subscribed for the purpose by the Irish people all over the world, and that the scheme would be successful was even at this time assured by the contributions from America alone. Under this prospect there was no scarcity of candidates and the difficulty which presented itself was the selection of the most suitable men. Most of the constituencies had their local favorites to put forward, and

supported their claims to the nominations with such warmth that it was feared that the plans of the Irish leader would miscarry. This was the crucial period in the movement, and that it passed through it safely is the best test of its coherence and strength. Mr. Parnell rose triumphantly superior to every obstacle. The local conventions nominated the candidates of his choice in every instance, and before the dissolution was announced the men who were to bear the colors in the contest were all selected and the people were ready and eager for the fray.

In bringing about this happy result, Mr. Parnell was greatly aided by Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, who had a short time before succeeded to the Archbishopric of Dublin, in the face of the most desperate anti-Nationalist opposition; by Most Rev. Dr. Croke, the patriotic Archbishop of Cashel, and by the bishops and priests of Ireland generally, whose influence in promoting harmony, especially in the conventions, it is impossible to overestimate.

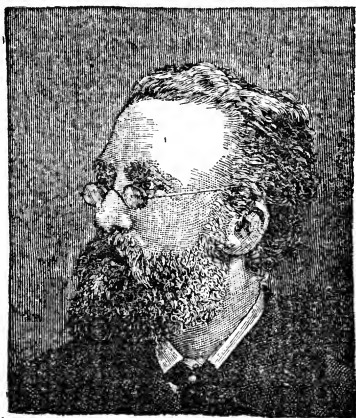
It is not necessary to follow the elections, or to describe the scenes attending them, in detail here. I will, therefore, only advert briefly to results. On Nov. 18, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and almost immediately writs began to issue for elections to a new Parliament. In England and Scotland the Liberals had a decided advantage in, and they based sanguine hopes upon,

the fact that the million and a half new voters were indebted to the Liberal party for the blessings of the franchise. It was confidently believed that the great majority of these new voters would support the Liberal candidates at the polls, and if they did so and Mr. Gladstone held anything like his former strength among the old voters, the Liberal party would have a majority over the Tories and the Parnellites combined. But these hopes, although reasonable, and, indeed, well founded, were never realized. By an adroit flank movement, Mr. Parnell effectually counteracted any Liberal tendency on the part of the new voters by directing the Nationalists of Great Britain — a splendidly organized body — to vote solidly for the Tory candidates in all the constituencies, and as a result of this advice the Liberals lost and the Tories gained at least thirty seats, making it possible for the Irish members to wield the balance of power.

In Ireland the elections were a very one-sided affair, the Nationalists being victorious in nearly every contest into which they entered, and polling fully five-sixths of the total vote of the country. In many places their majorities comprised literally the whole voting list. Out of the 103 seats in Ireland the Nationalists won 85, and T. P. O'Connor was returned from Liverpool, Eng., as a Nationalist, so that the full strength of the party would be 86. The Tories only won 18 seats in

all Ireland, and the Liberals did not even return a man.

In short the elections made Mr. Parnell the master of the situation. They placed him in the position of a supreme arbiter between the two great English parties, and enabled him to turn the balance of factions and decide the fate of ministries



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at his pleasure. The entire English body politic was in a complete quandary, and neither the Liberals nor the Tories could see any way out of it except that which the Irish leader pointed out, —to give Ireland Home Rule,—but that they were not yet prepared to make use of. The leaders of both the great English parties were at their wits' ends. The leader of the Irish people



was at his ease and confident. The English newspapers, while bemoaning the fact, conceded his great and dominating power.

The *London Times* said: "We make no doubt that the whole Irish question is engaging the anxious attention of the leaders of both parties. Mr. Parnell must perceive, however, that there are still a good many formidable obstacles to the satisfaction of his extreme demands. In the first place, there is the uncertainty of his own position, which is by no means so strong as it looks. In the next place, there is the patriotism of Mr. Gladstone and the steadfastness of the Liberal party. And in the last resort, there are the constituencies of Great Britain, which love their country more than party, which vote freely and independently, and which do not yield to the dictation of conventions and priests."

The *Standard* argued that "if to acquiesce in Mr. Parnell's proposals would be suicide, to aim at a compromise would be folly. There is no middle way to choose between that of those who wish to maintain the Union and those who are intent on destroying it. The last generation of statesmen were not afraid to grapple with O'Connell and the repeal movement. It will be a lasting disgrace if the present generation are unequal to the task of facing Parnell."

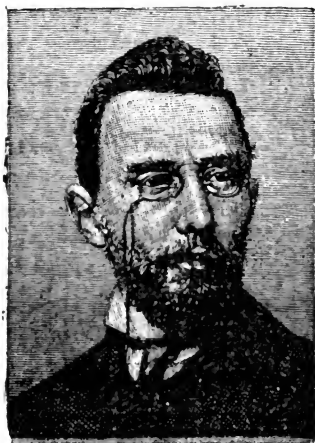
The *Daily Telegraph* said: "We are face to face with this difficulty, that to give to Ireland

complete right of legislation and police is to abandon to the peasantry one million and a half of Irishmen who are not Parnellites; while, on the other hand, nothing but the uncontrolled right to make and execute the laws will satisfy Irish aspirations, or conciliate Parnell. The situation is very serious. It is one of the gravest ever presented to an English Parliament. It is more momentous than many wars, because it is a Gordian knot that cannot be cut by the sword. The competition of the two great parties for power has brought the Empire to this dilemma, and their union alone can save it from disintegration."

The *Daily News* concluded a long editorial as follows: "Mr. Parnell is a maker and unmaker of ministries. Our parliamentary system is at stake. It is overborne by what is practically a foreign dictation. Eighty-five members of Parliament control more than the remaining five hundred and eighty. Parnell is an arbiter between Gladstone and Salisbury. Gladstone's excess over the Conservative vote nearly equals the whole number of Parnell's supporters in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone is as much the representative of Great Britain as Mr. Parnell is of Ireland, and it is he who is entitled to speak in the name of Parliament and the country."

It was now everywhere conceded that the Irish question would have to be taken up and settled by the new Parliament before anything else could be

done. On this Mr. Parnell was determined. "We shall demand," he said, a short time before Parliament opened, "and we will be satisfied with nothing less than the erection of an Irish Parliament fully empowered to legislate for all of Ireland's affairs and interests." And that it was the



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original intention of Lord Salisbury's government to bring in a measure of Home Rule, substantially in accord with Mr. Parnell's wishes, there can be no doubt. Communications discussing the provisions of such a bill had actually passed between members of the ministry and the Irish leader. But the Tory government was driven to abandon this purpose by the conviction that they could not

succeed in carrying the measure against the Liberal opposition and the hostility of the Irish Tories, who threatened to join the opposition in the event of such a bill being introduced. Deterred thus from offering concessions, the Government decided to resort to coercion; and, having once come to this decision, they did not leave the country long in suspense. When Parliament opened, early in January, 1886, the Queen in her speech made the following reference to Ireland: —

I have seen with deep sorrow the renewal, since I last addressed you, of the attempt to excite the people of Ireland to hostility against the legislative union between that country and Great Britain. I am resolutely opposed to any disturbance of that fundamental law, and in resisting it I am convinced that I shall be heartily supported by my Parliament and my people.

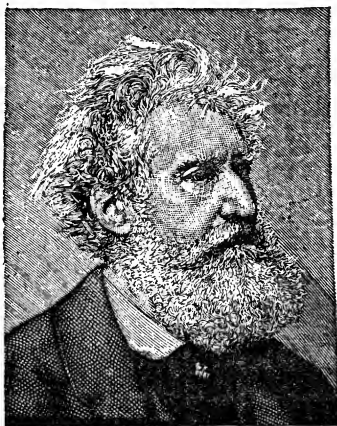
The social, no less than the material, condition of that country engages my anxious attention. Although there has been during the last year no marked increase of serious crime, there is in many places a concerted resistance to the enforcement of legal obligations, and I regret that the practice of organized intimidation continues to exist. I have caused every exertion to be used for the detection and punishment of these crimes, and no effort will be spared on the part of my Government to protect my Irish subjects in the exercise of their legal rights and in the enjoyment of individual liberty. If, as my information leads me to apprehend, the existing provisions of the law should prove to be

inadequate to cope with these growing evils, I shall look with confidence to your willingness to invest my Government with all the necessary powers.

The Queen was present in person during the reading of her speech, at the conclusion of which she withdrew, and "her faithful Lords and Commons began to talk it over." In the House of Lords, the Duke of Abercom, an Irish landlord, alluded to the grave responsibilities of those who directed the affairs of the government, and said that the one cloud over the Empire was the state of Ireland. Among the duties which the Government must perform, he said, were the maintenance of the Union, the suppression of persecutions of which the National League had been guilty, and the defence of the loyal Irish minority.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone's speech on the Address gave great encouragement to the Irish party. He had previously made overtures to Mr. Parnell on the subject of Home Rule, and on this occasion he showed that he had fully made up his mind to secure the support of the Parnellites, and to pay the price. He said he wished the Queen's speech had been more explicit. He was convinced that only a gentle and conciliatory handling of the Irish question would be effectual. He had always striven to eliminate the elements of wrath and passion in discussing Ireland. "The exercise of candor and justice could

alone afford the smallest hope of solving the difficulty. Whatever it may be necessary to do for Ireland should be done promptly. In the name of Heaven, let us maintain the Union. We have been maintaining it for eighty-five—yes, six hundred years. Let us not deviate from the



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path of good temper and self-command ; but, forgetful of every prejudice, let us strive to do justice to the great, the gigantic interests committed to our charge." Mr. Gladstone continued that in seeking a re-election he was mainly guided by a wish to proceed with proposals in regard to both the legislative and the social position of Ireland. Only the Government, however, was able to act in

such a matter. He, believing it would be mischievous to do so, did not intend to introduce proposals of his own, but he would reserve his opinion. He would also reserve his decision whether to alter or to add to the proposals embodied in his election manifesto. He pleaded for a patient hearing of the opinions of the Irish Nationalists.

Mr. Parnell followed Mr. Gladstone in a speech that was everywhere praised for its firmness and its moderation; and when he had concluded, Lord Randolph Churchill burned the bridges behind the Government, by announcing that he "wished the House to clearly understand that it would be impossible for the present Government ever to sanction an Irish Parliament."

This speech of Lord Churchill and that of the Queen destroyed all hopes of getting an Irish Home Rule Bill from the Tory government, but they also sealed the fate of the Salisbury ministry, for they threw the hopes of the Irish back upon Gladstone, and the Gladstonites and Parnellites had it in their power to defeat the Government at any time. The Tory leaders now "rode for a fall." They invited defeat upon a question which would allow them to appeal to the people on "the integrity of the Empire" cry. But they were playing against masters of all the parliamentary arts, in Gladstone and Parnell, and the sequel proved them vastly overmatched. On January

26, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Tory leader in the House, gave notice that the Government would, on the 28th, introduce "a bill to suppress the Irish National League and other dangerous societies, to prevent intimidation, to protect life and property, and to maintain public order in Ireland." He said he would ask the House to give the bill precedence, and added that this measure would be followed by a bill dealing with the Irish land question, on the lines indicated in the Land Purchase Act of the last session. The Government expected that the Parnellites would make a strong fight against this bill, and that they would be aided by the Liberals, and the ministry was prepared to welcome defeat upon it. But Mr. Parnell was too able a tactician to walk into the snare. He hurled the Government from power, however, that very night, and it was not on an Irish question, either. Mr. Jesse Collings had moved an amendment to the address which expressed regret that no measures were announced in the Queen's speech for the relief of the sufferers by the depression in trade and agriculture, particularly in regard to affording facilities to farm-laborers, etc., for obtaining allotments of small holdings on equitable terms as to rent and security of tenure, and when the question came up, on the same evening that Hicks-Beach announced the Coercion policy of Government, Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone joined forces in its support and carried the



amendment by a vote of 329 to 250. And, although the defeat came on an English, not on an Irish question, it was the Irish vote that turned the Government out, as in 1885.

Mr. Gladstone now took up the reins of government once more, and at the outset avowed his intention to conciliate the Irish. He sent the



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Earl of Aberdeen to Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant and John Morley as Chief Secretary, both appointments being acceptable to the Parnellites, but the latter especially so, as Mr. Morley was a pronounced Home Ruler. Not to do things by halves, Mr. Gladstone followed up these concessions to National sentiment by declaring his purpose of introducing at an early day a bill which

would do substantial justice to Ireland. This announcement aroused a fierce protest from nearly every one of the great English papers and caused the withdrawal from the cabinet of Joseph Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, but Mr. Gladstone soon filled the vacancies and persevered in the preparation of his bill.

The day set for the introduction of the measure was April 8, and it was awaited with an anxiety never before paralleled in the history of British legislation. For weeks before the eventful day the most intense interest was manifested, not only in Ireland and in Great Britain, but in America and Australia. When the day at length arrived, the excitement was at fever-heat, and, long before the hour for opening Parliament, every available seat in the Commons was bespoken in behalf of princes, princesses, dukes, duchesses, ambassadors, distinguished strangers, and friends of the members, while dense crowds thronged the streets in the vicinity, unmindful of a pouring rain-storm. When prayer-time came, the House was crowded in every part, and for the first time strangers were permitted to hear prayers read, a decided innovation, as the chamber is supposed to be closed to all but members until that ceremony is over. Within five minutes after prayer, Mr. Gladstone arose, amid the cheers of the Liberals and Parnellites, and began his great speech, one of the finest and most eloquent efforts that he ever made. His voice fell

upon a breathless audience, now like a zephyr which lulls to confidence and now like a tornado which rouses to revolution. He was at his best physically, and with that masterly command of language for which he is justly celebrated, he wrung an unwilling tribute of admiration from the bitterest foes of his reform.

The scene in the House was at times intensely dramatic. Mr. Gladstone began in his usual calm and hesitating manner, and with a husky voice. His audience, however, could scent the battle from afar as he declared that "we should no longer fence or skirmish with this question. We should come to close quarters with it." He followed his own advice when, after referring to the colonial legislatures which have never imperilled the integrity of the Empire, he was silent for a moment, and then added slowly that his proposal was "to set up a Parliament in Dublin." The reasons for this course were given in a few words: "England made her own laws; Scotland had been encouraged to make her own laws. The consequence was that the mainspring of the law in England and Scotland was felt to be English or Scotch. The mainspring of the law in Ireland was not felt by the people to be Irish." The problem, therefore, which Parliament was called upon to solve was, he said, "How to reconcile imperial unity with diversity of legislatures."

In developing the details of his plan, Mr. Glad-

stone declared that the Irish Parliament which he proposed would concern itself exclusively with Irish affairs; that in due course it would have control of the constabulary; that it would have to pay its proportional share of the imperial burdens; that it *would not* control the customs nor the excise; that it would manage its own post-office; that it would have absolute control over all purely local taxes; that it would be forbidden all interference with foreign and colonial relations; that the power would be withheld from it of passing a law for the establishment or endowment of any religion; that it would have to resign everything relating to the prerogatives of the Crown, or the succession, to a permanent Viceroy, who might be a Catholic; that it would have no concern with the defence — with the army, navy, or entire organization of armed force; that the Irish representatives were to no longer have seats in Westminster; and that the Irish Parliament would consist of two orders, one possessing property qualifications, the other elected on a popular basis.

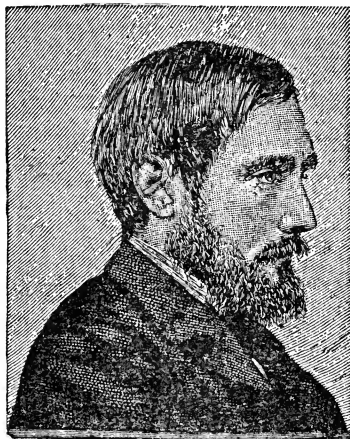
In presenting his plan, Mr. Gladstone spoke for three hours and twenty minutes, with all the fire and force and eloquence of his more youthful days. He concluded his speech in these words: —

I have no right to say that Ireland, through her constitutionally elected members, will accept the measure I prepose. I hope they will, but I have no right to assume it, nor have I any power to enforce it

upon the people of England and Scotland; but I rely on the patriotism and the sagacity of this House, on a free and full discussion, and, more than all, upon the just and generous sentiments of the two British nations; and, looking forward, I ask the House, believing that no trivial motive could have driven us to assist in the work we have undertaken—work which we believe will restore Parliament to its free and unimpeded course—I ask them to stay the waste of the public treasure under the present system of government and administration in Ireland, which is not waste only, but waste which demoralizes while it exhausts. I ask them to show to Europe and America that we, too, can face the political problems which America had to face twenty years ago, and which many countries in Europe have been called on to face and have not feared to deal with. I ask that we shall practise as we have very often preached, and that in our own case we should be firm and fearless in applying the doctrine we have often inculcated on others—that the concession of local self-government is not the way to sap and impair, but to strengthen and consolidate our unity. I ask that we should learn to rely less on mere written stipulations and more on those better stipulations written on the heart and mind of man. I ask that we should apply to Ireland the happy experience we have gained in England and Scotland, where a course of generations has now taught us, not as a dream or a theory, but as a matter of practice and of life, that the best and surest foundation we can find to build on is the foundation afforded by the affections and convictions and will of man, and that it is thus, by the decree of the

Almighty, that far more than by any other method we may be able to secure at once the social happiness, the power, and the permanence of the Empire.

Mr. Gladstone resumed his seat amid bursts of enthusiastic cheers, which were sustained for sev-



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eral minutes. After the din had in a measure subsided, Mr. Trevelyan arose to explain his reason for resigning from the cabinet, which he said was because he could never consent to such a scheme as the Prime Minister had just proposed.

When Mr. Trevelyan had finished, Mr. Parnell arose and was received with enthusiastic cheers from the Irish and Liberal benches. The Irish leader was as cold and measured as usual. He

first referred to Mr. Trevelyan's speech, and disposed of it in a few brief and cutting sentences; then referring to the bill before the House, he said he would reserve his full expression of opinion upon it until he had seen the bill. He, however, congratulated the House on the fact that there was still living an English statesman who could devote his attention to this important matter, and begged to thank Mr. Gladstone for what would not only prove a beneficial measure from the Irish point of view, but which he (Parnell) believed would be found to be of equal benefit to England. The bill, nevertheless, contained blots which the Irish representatives would do their best to remove. One of these was to be found in the financial proposals of the bill, which he regarded as very unfavorable to Ireland, especially in regard to the Irish tribute to the imperial exchequer. He also complained of the proposition relative to the two orders intended to constitute the Irish Parliament, on the ground that the first order, consisting of peers not subject to the influence of the popular vote, would have the power of hanging up measures demanded by the people and their representatives for two or three years. On the whole, however, apart from these defects, he believed the measure would be cheerfully accepted by the Irish people and their representatives as a satisfactory solution of the long-standing dispute between the two countries, and as tending

to prosperity and peace in Ireland and to satisfaction in England. [Cheers.]

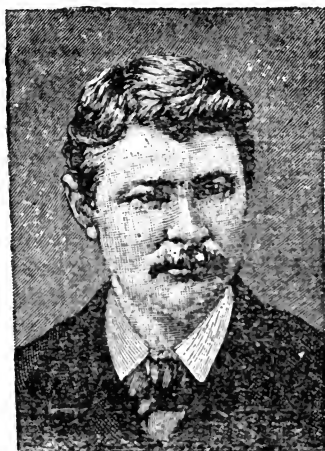
This was the spirit in which the Irish people everywhere received the Bill to Amend the Provisions for the Future Government of Ireland. They were not blind to its many imperfections, but they saw in it the recognition of the right of Irishmen to govern themselves in their own land, and they were profoundly grateful to the English Prime Minister who had the courage to attempt to do them justice.

But only the first act of the drama had as yet been performed. The climax was still to be enacted. The second reading of the measure was to be the battle-ground, and those who favored the bill and those who opposed it alike displayed extraordinary energy in preparing for the contest. The anti-Home Rule Whigs, led by Lord Hartington, and the anti-Home Rule Radicals, led by Mr. Chamberlain, made overtures to the Tories to join them in a combined opposition to Gladstone and Parnell, and the anti-Nationalist elements in England, Ireland, and Scotland, strained every nerve to organize an effective opposition.

The debate on the measure was protracted for nearly two months, and was marked by many brilliant oratorical efforts on both sides. The Irish members, especially, distinguished themselves by their eloquence, good sense, and moderation. Mr. Sexton's speech in the opening of the debate



won the encomiums of friends and foes alike, and added much to the already splendid reputation of the brilliant member for Sligo. Other notable speeches were made by T. M. Healy, the member for South Derry; Justin McCarthy, the member for North Longford; William O'Brien, editor of



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*United Ireland*, and member for Tyrone; T. P. O'Connor, President of the Irish National League of Great Britain, and Nationalist member from Liverpool; Joseph G. Biggar, the sturdy representative for Cavan; John Dillon, the member for East Mayo; Edmund Dwyer Gray, editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, and member for St. Stephen's division, Dublin; T. D. Sullivan, editor of the

*Nation*, member for the College Green division, and Lord Mayor of Dublin; John E. Redmond, member for Wexford, and others of the Irish party. In the parliamentary history of England, no measure was ever more fully discussed or more ably advocated, and if eloquence could persuade or reason convince, the passage of the bill would have been assured. But it was prejudice of the most unreasoning kind and passion of the most malignant character that the supporters of the bill had to contend with — not definite differences of opinion or honest ignorance of the merits of the measure. The vindictive character of the opposition and the insincerity of the motives of many of those who took part in it are best illustrated in the case of Mr. Chamberlain. He had always asserted previously that he was in sympathy with the principle of Home Rule for Ireland, his only differences with Mr. Gladstone being in regard to matters of detail. But when the Prime Minister announced his readiness to make such concessions in this case as would cut away all foundation for Mr. Chamberlain's criticisms, Mr. Chamberlain not only persevered in his desertion of his party, but he redoubled his efforts to render the opposition effective.

The motion to read the bill a second time was finally reached on June 7, amid scenes every whit as exciting as those which marked its introduction. The House was crowded in every part. The

closing speeches before the division were made by Mr. Goschen and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, against the bill, and Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone, in favor of it, and were among the most brilliant of the whole debate. Mr. Parnell, in particular, stood forth pre-eminent among the



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eminent. Even the bitterest enemies of the Irish leader were compelled to accord his speech the tribute of their admiration. Mr. Gladstone characterized it as "a masterly exposition," and such it was, indeed, not only of the measure under discussion, but of the whole Irish case. It was said of this speech that had it been made earlier it would have saved the bill, and that, even as it

was, many well-meaning Liberals who had promised to vote against the Government were so moved by its power that they implored Mr. Chamberlain to release them from their pledges, but, of course, they implored in vain.

The debate of this evening marked an important epoch in the history of the Irish Nationalist struggle. It was opened by Mr. George J. Goschen, one of the ablest of the Liberal dissidents, who made a vigorous attack upon the bill. In the course of his speech, he said : —

During the recess, I heard one, now a minister of the Crown, say he was certain that Mr. Parnell would be dictator in the coming session. I think, however, that Mr. Parnell's followers will now acknowledge that there are limits whereat they see many who are prepared to grant some legislative autonomy to Ireland would draw the line. The House will remember the first reading of this bill, and will recall the Right Hon. Chief Secretary for Ireland's repeated allusions to certain dark subterranean forces. We do not hear so much thereof now. They have withdrawn to a great extent, though not entirely, from the light. The curtain has been dropped over those terrible times and tragedies which have scarcely faded from our memories. The alarmed Home Secretary of the Premier's last government is now able to re-appear as chancellor of the exchequer, with great jocularly and light-heartedness to make merry over what he calls the melodramatic terrors. I wonder whether this began on the day when he first pinned on his arm, over his ministerial

uniform, the Home Rule badge of the Parnellites to wear. [Loud opposition cheers.] We know that a truce has been proclaimed, and that a part of the dark subterranean forces have been told off to terrify British public opinion. They are simply holding their hands, though. The devil is still working in some parts of Ireland. [Cheers.] The British democracy are asked to do justice [Parnellite cheers], but they will require to see justice done, and I should have thought that the Parnellites would have used their great influence and vast organization to help discover the perpetrators of these vile outrages. [Opposition cheers.] I don't say they can do it. The matter may have passed beyond their power. We have a right, however, to pause when we are asked to place the protection of life in Ireland in the hands of a new and untutored executive and at the same time relinquish the control of the police. [Parnellite cries of "No! No!"]

The presence of Irish members at Westminster is incompatible with a separate Irish Parliament. It will be impossible to include Ulster in a Dublin Parliament. [Parnellite cries of "No! No!"] The clauses relating to taxation and finance are also inherent defects in the bill.

If the bill passed, a tremendous struggle would be inaugurated by the Catholic clergy of Ireland for the control of education in that country. It now required the imperial Parliament's moderating influence to deter Protestants and Catholics from making extreme demands. They were unable to ignore the differences of creed, class, and race. A neutral hand was necessary to deal with the rival sections, as in the case of the recent difficulty in Belfast. The bill contains the

elements of commercial, financial, and legislative friction. The establishment of a separate executive will lead to friction and separation. Difficulties will arise under the Foreign Enlistment Act, and in cases like that of the Alabama, the imperial Parliament would be responsible for the acts of the Irish executive and yet be powerless to control the executive. The Canadian executive was now in trouble with America. England was responsible for Canada and had to settle the difficulty. The Premier's friends have not condescended to reply to that argument. Suppose discontent arose, culminating in agitation and ultimate separation. Members must not forget Mr. Morley's warning that if discontent arose in Ireland the Irish-Americans would place material resources at Ireland's command. If Parliament parted with the executive power in Ireland, and alienated its friends and made them bitter foes, and placed the executive power in new and untried hands, how would they meet this difficulty? Suppression by force was held up as a remedy. Sir William Harcourt pointed out that Grattan's Parliament was more independent than the one now proposed. Was the Irish executive at the time of Grattan's Parliament so independent that it was by the executive that the two countries were held together? ["Hear! Hear!" from Mr. Gladstone, and cheers.] Opponents of the bill wanted the two countries to be held together. The Premier would not admit that it was their duty to keep the two countries together. [Here Mr. Gladstone expressed dissent.] There was no security that the unity which could be maintained in Grattan's time with an independent Parliament, but dependent executive, could be maintained now, with a

Parliament and executive independent in Ireland. If the storms which alone prevented a French invasion of Ireland in 1796, had not occurred, Sir William Harcourt might not have been able to appeal with such triumphant emphasis to the unity of the two countries.

When Mr. Goschen had concluded, Mr. Parnell arose to reply, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the Irish members. His speech is subjoined in full:—

I should ordinarily have lacked confidence in following so able and eloquent a speaker in this contest of giants; but I think “thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.” [Cheers.] And unequal in fervor as I am at many points, I hope I shall not be so far behind as usual. [“Hear, hear.”] Without intending to offer any disrespect, I could not help thinking, while listening to his speech, that, in all the lost causes wherewith I have seen him connected during many years past, he was never so little effective as when contending against the bill we hope to read a second time to-night. [Cheers.] Mr. Goschen sought, I think very unfairly, to cast a lurid light on the situation by his allusion to those unhappy outrages in Kerry. I join in the expression of contempt for those cowardly, disgraceful practices. I join him to the fullest extent. [“Hear, hear.”] But neither do I say that, because evictions have been more numerous in Kerry than in all the rest of Munster put together during months past, they constitute an excuse for these outrages, or any excuse for outrage, though it may supply us with the cause of them. But when I denounce outrages, I

denounce them in every part of Ireland, whether in Ulster or in Kerry. ["Hear, hear."] Mr. Goschen is certainly free from reproach. He has not joined Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Chamberlain in the use of reckless language with reference to the affairs of a country which is not their country [cheers]; an interference for which they have not the paltry excuse that it is any business of theirs, or that they had any interest there. My colleagues have, in times past, been reproached because they have not been careful in looking at the effect of their language, and the doctrine of indirect responsibility has been employed against them to the extent of imprisonment. If that doctrine of indirect responsibility were employed against Lord Randolph Churchill or Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Randolph Churchill ought to plead the excuse that he believes in nothing and nobody but himself, so that he could not expect any great importance to be attached to his declarations [cheers and laughter]; while Mr. Chamberlain might have said, and said very truly, that he was absolutely ignorant of all the circumstances of Ireland. His celebrated projected visit there last autumn not having come off, he really could not know what would be the effect of his language. [Cheers.] However, we have the result now in one murder already committed in Belfast; and I trust that all the future members will remember the importance and gravity of occurrences which may follow in Ulster. Those occurrences cannot go further, at the outside, than outrage and assassination; but they will depend very much upon what is said on this subject, and the amount of importance given to the doings of Ulster men. We do say and admit that these occurrences are



to be condemned, and should be stopped. But while Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Goschen say they must be put an end to by resorting to the coercion which he and his friends have been using for the last eighty-six years, we would say, with Mr. Gladstone, try the effect of self-government [cheers]; then if Kerry men resort to outrage, they will very soon find that the rest of Ireland will put a stop to it. [Renewed cheers.] Mr. Goschen referred to recent events in Belfast; but, before I deal with that terrible matter, I wish to give an explanation, because, as usual, one of the English newspapers has perverted for its own purposes what I believe actually took place. [Irish cheers.] I am pained to see that the struggle is alleged to have arisen out of an expression used by a Catholic to a fellow-workman, who was a Protestant, to the effect that in a short time none of his persuasion would be allowed to earn a crust of bread in Ireland. That, however, does not accurately represent all the facts, as reported in the local newspapers. [Cheers and counter-cheers.] According to them, what took place was this: The overseer of the works found fault with the way in which an Orange, or, at all events, a Protestant, workman was digging a drain. The overseer said, "That is a nice way to do the work!" Whereupon the Orangeman replied to the overseer, who happened to be a Catholic, "What does a Papist know about digging drains?" [Laughter.] The overseer, irritated, — I do not say justly irritated, because it was absurd for him to have been irritated by such a remark, — said to the Orangeman, "You will never earn a crust on these works again," meaning that he was dismissed. Thereupon the Orangeman took his

shovel and left his work. I believe that as he was going out he was assaulted by one or more of the workmen. [Derisive laughter.] It is very difficult to know what actually took place; but it is of great importance that the House understand the remark in question had not a general application, but only an individual one. [Parnellite cheers.] I do not attempt to justify the occurrence, because it was a very sad one. Mr. Goschen spoke about the sovereignty of Parliament. Upon this point I agree with the definition given by Mr. Bryce. [Cheers.] We know perfectly well—we have always known since this bill was introduced—the difference between a co-ordinate and a subordinate Parliament. [Cheers.] We know that the legislature which the Premier wishes to constitute is a subordinate Parliament, not like Grattan's, which was co-equal [Mr. Gladstone—“Hear, hear”], arising out of the same constitution and in the same manner as this Parliament, given by the sovereign. [Ministerial cheers.] We understand this perfectly well; and we should undoubtedly have preferred—as I stated on the introduction of the bill, as showing that I could not accept this as a final settlement of the question—we should have preferred the restitution of the Grattan Parliament. [Parnellite cheers.] It would have been more in accord with the sentiments of the Irish people, and sentiment goes a long way with a people like the Irish. [Cheers.] At the same time, I am bound to say that if I preferred the Grattan Parliament, there are practical advantages in the proposals before us which limit and subordinate this Parliament to that in which we now sit. It may be of even greater advantage to the Irish people than a Parliament like

Grattan's, and much more likely to be a final settlement of the question. [Cheers.] Grattan's Parliament had many disadvantages. First, it had a House of Lords. ["Hear, hear," and laughter.] We get rid of the House of Lords under Mr. Gladstone's constitution. [Cheers.] True, there is to be in its place the first order — a very salutary provision. I do not pledge myself to all the details and qualifications, but I say generally that the first order is a very salutary provision, which will tend to prevent rash legislation and immoderate action. [Cheers.] I would rather see the bill hung up ten years by a body like the first order in Ireland than see it hung up for a single twenty-four hours by this imperial Parliament. [Cheers.] I venture to express the opinion that the existent action of the imperial Parliament, the constant means of overseeing, as is suggested by Mr. Chamberlain, would not have the same success, and would not be so acceptable to the Irish people, as the measure now proposed. [Cheers.] Indeed, Mr. Chamberlain's proposals would, I believe, be mischievous and dangerous, and would prevent any settlement being arrived at which would be satisfactory to the Irish people. [Parnellite cheers.] On the other hand, when we have assembled in our own chamber in Ireland, all the different sections of the Irish people, those causes and effects which always arise will come into operation again, and will lead to satisfactory results. The result of the two orders working together in the same chamber will enable great questions to be settled on a basis of compromise more or less satisfactory to all parties. [Cheers.] We understand perfectly well that the imperial Parliament has ultimate supremacy and ulti-

mate sovereignty. I quite agree with Mr. Gladstone, and think it one of the most valuable parts of the bill. I quite agree that that which Mr. Gladstone offers—namely, the responsibility of maintaining order in Ireland by an Irish Parliament—is a correct provision, which no state could exist without. [Irish cheers.] The supremacy of the imperial Parliament, however, will not be affected by this if the Irish party executes the powers given to it, while in some cases it may be rendered more effective than ever. [Cheers.] In accepting the bill, we accept honorable obligations, and we pledge ourselves for the Irish people, as far as we can pledge ourselves [derisive cheering and laughter], that the powers given shall not be abused [Parnellite cheers]; to devote all the energy, ability, and influence we may have with our people to prevent them from abusing the powers intrusted to them [cheers]; that, if abuses take place, the imperial Parliament may intervene in cases of grave emergency. You have the power, the authority, and the force, and if abuses are perpetrated, you have the remedy in your own hands. In a case of this kind, you would have just the same authority you would have whether this bill had been brought forward or not; and this we recognize. I said this on the introduction of the bill. I said we would accept it as a final settlement, and that I believed the Irish people would do so. I will say no more upon this point; but my words have been singularly justified. [Parnellite cheers.] We have had this measure accepted by all leaders of every section of the national feeling in Ireland, also outside of Ireland, in America, and in every country where Irish people are found. [Cheers.] We have not heard a

single voice raised against the bill by an Irishman. [Cheers and cries of "Oh."] Certainly not by any Irishmen of Nationalist opinion. Of course, there is a section among the Irish Nationalists, just as there are sections of the great Conservative party. In fact, as far as it is possible for a nation to accept a measure cheerfully, freely, thankfully, and without reserve, I say the Irish people have shown that they have so accepted this measure. [Cheers.] Even the terrible *Irish World*, a newspaper which has not been on my side for the last five or six years, says that the Irish race at home and abroad has signified its willingness to accept the terms of peace offered by Mr. Gladstone. [Cheers.] I can say that as far as the Irish can accept this bill, they have accepted it without any reserve as a measure which may be considered the final settlement of this great question.

I leave the question of the sovereignty of Parliament, to go to another point which Mr. Goschen touched upon. He very fairly told us his fears as to the abuse of power by the Irish priesthood regarding education. He has not followed the example of other illustrious speakers by indulging in extravagant language regarding this Catholic-Protestant question. I may say I am quite sure his appreciation is genuine so far as it goes, and that he does not desire to see anything in the shape of religious discord incited. Indeed, I will not say that, as a Protestant myself, if I had not had abundant experience of the feeling in Ireland, I might, perhaps, be inclined to share his fears. But, as it is, I certainly have not such fear. It is rather remarkable, in regard to this question of education, that Mr. Chamberlain proposed to give the cen-

tral council in Dublin executive control over education in Ireland without any reserve whatever in regard to Protestants or Catholics. [Cheers.] It is, however, very hard to please everybody. And if we were to please Mr. Chamberlain by agreeing to give education to the control of the body which Mr. Gladstone proposes to establish, we would be unfortunate in running foul of Mr. Goschen, but I think I can assure him that we shall be able to settle this question of education very well among ourselves. [Cheers.] There are many Liberal Nationalists. I call them Liberal Nationalists, because I think it the right phrase in reference to its application to education, as to which they are liberal. They do not share the views of the Roman Catholic Church on the question of education. There are many Liberal Nationalists in Ireland, who very much desire to see the people of Ulster sharing the responsibilities and feelings they have regarding education. I can assure the House that, with Ulster in the Irish Legislature, with such representatives as we see coming from Ulster to this House, there would not be the slightest risk, even if there were any idea on the part of the Catholic hierarchy of using their power unfairly against the Protestants, that such a thing could ever take place. [Cheers.] We should be able to settle this question, to the satisfaction of everybody concerned, among ourselves. [Cheers.] I will remind the House that denominational education will undoubtedly be established in Ireland. [Cheers.] This subject has been already considered. Mr. Chamberlain thinks that denominational education would be the right thing for Ireland. We may say if Parliament remains as it is, and Ireland as she is, we should

find denominational education without effective control impossible on the part of the Ulster Protestants. Mr. Goschen mentioned the linen trade. I have not had the advantage of reading the correspondence to which he referred, but it appeared to tend to prove that the linen trade had been a curse to Ulster, not directly, but indirectly, because it induced the peasantry to pay rack rents which the landlords would not otherwise have insisted on. I think Mr. Goschen is not quite fair regarding this question. I observed a similar reticence when he dealt with the financial question, on which he made such a point on the first reading in his speech, which undoubtedly produced a great sensation throughout the country. I and others who listened to the speech understood him to argue that, as Ulster was wealthier than any of the three other provinces, so heavy a share of the burden would fall on Ulster that it would be impossible to carry on a government in Ireland. Mr. Goschen's comparison of the great wealth of Ulster with that of the other provinces was taken up by the Loyal Patriotic Unions throughout the country as a sort of war-cry. Mr. Goschen chose as his standard of comparison schedule D, of the income-tax list, referring to trades and professions. But surely the plain standards of relative wealth are assessments under all schedules, as well as the value of ratable property. If he had taken these he would have shown that, so far from Ulster being the wealthiest of the four provinces, she comes third, after Leinster and Munster, being only superior to the impoverished Connaught. These standards of the income tax show for Leinster £10 6s. 9d. per head; for Munster, £6 0s. 7d.; for Ulster, £5 14s. 5d.; Con-

naught, £3 13s. 7d., the relative proportions in wealth in decimals being: 9.92, Leinster; 5.78, Munster; 5.48, Ulster, and little more than half the wealth of Leinster, 3.53, for Connaught. [Cheers.] If you make any other fair test, the result will be the same. But Mr. Goschen has argued that there was great disparity between the Protestant, or northeastern counties, and the Catholic counties. In regard to Ulster, he had represented the disparity to be a great deal larger than it really is, through the system of comparison he had chosen, a system that was not fair, but one that would show best for his argument. Undoubtedly there is a disparity between the relative wealth of the northeastern counties and the other counties, but the same disproportion runs through the whole of Ireland. If you draw a meridian line through Ireland, the county to the east is comparatively prosperous, and that to the west comparatively poor. The reason is obvious: a country's wealth goes towards its trading coast. The trade of Ireland, its ports of shipping, and its main distributing centres, where business men and men of wealth congregate, are found in the east. As is only natural, east Ulster, Munster and Leinster are wealthier than the rest of those provinces.

We come now to the question of the protection of the loyal minority. It is a question upon which great attention has been bestowed. One would think that Protestant Ireland was going to be handed over to the tender mercies of thugs and bandits. Major Saunderson [cries of "Hear, hear," and cheers] — I only wish I was as safe in the north of Ireland, when I go there, as Major Saunderson would be in the south. [Home Rule cheers.] What do these gentlemen mean



by protection of the loyal minority? In the first place, I would ask what they mean by "loyal minority." Mr. Goschen does not seem to have made up his mind, even at this late stage of the debate, what the loyal minority is. When asked, he said he meant the same loyal minority as the one Mr. Gladstone referred to, but he would not commit himself by telling us what significance he attributed to Mr. Gladstone's statement. I have examined Mr. Gladstone's references since then, and find that Mr. Gladstone referred to the whole province of Ulster. He did not select a little bit of the province, because the opposition had not discovered the point at the time. Consequently, I suppose I may assume that Mr. Goschen also refers to the whole province of Ulster, when he asks that special protection should be given. He has not told us how he would specially protect it, but we may take it from the plans of his colleagues. Mr. Chamberlain has supplied a plan. He has claimed for Ulster—and I suppose Mr. Goschen, when the proper time comes, will support him in that claim—he has claimed a separate Legislature for Ulster. You would not protect the loyal minority of Ireland, even supposing you gave Ulster a separate Legislature, because there are outside of that province over four hundred thousand Protestants who would still be without any protection, so far as what you propose would give it to them. You would make the position of these four hundred thousand Protestants, by taking away Ulster from them, infinitely less secure. [Cheers.] You would not even protect the Protestants of Ulster, because the Protestants, according to their last census, were in the proportion of

fifty-two to forty-eight, and we have every reason to believe that the Protestants and Catholics of Ulster are about equal in number. However it may be, the Nationalists have succeeded in returning the majority of the Ulster members. [Home Rule cheers.] The main reason that we have a majority of the Ulster members is that a large proportion of Protestants and Nationalists voted in closely divided constituencies throughout Ulster in favor of the Nationalist candidate. So you would still have the Nationalist will to deal with in Ulster. Even supposing that you had a separate Legislature there, the first thing the Ulster Legislature would do would be to unite itself with the Dublin Parliament. Driven away from the fiction of Protestant Ulster, the opponents of the bill upon this point seek refuge in the northeast corner of Ulster, consisting of three counties. Then there comes in the differences that, instead of protecting the majority of the Irish Protestants by constituting a Legislature for the northeast corner of Ulster, you abandon the Protestant majority to their fate under a Dublin Parliament. Seven-twelfths of the Protestants in Ireland live outside of the three counties in the northeast corner of Ulster. Five-twelfths of the Protestants live in those counties. So, whatever way you put it, you must abandon the idea of protecting the Protestants in Ireland by the establishment of a separate Legislature either in Ulster or in any portion of Ulster. We cannot give up a single Irishman. [Cheers.] We want the energy, patriotism, talent, and work of our Irishmen [cheers] to insure that this great experiment shall be a success. The best system of government for a country I believe to be one that

requires that the government should be the result of all of the forces of the country. We cannot give away to a separate Legislature any portion of the talent and influence of the Irish Protestants. This class will form a most valuable element in the Irish Legislature, constituting as they will a strong minority, and exercising, through the first order, a moderate influence on the making of laws. We have heard of the danger which will beset that first trial by an untrained 'prentice Legislature. I regard their presence as vitally necessary in the Irish Parliament. We want all creeds and classes in our Parliament. ["Hear, hear."] We cannot consent to look upon a single Irishman as not belonging to us, however much we recognize their great ability. We admit the ability of Irish Protestants and their influence. We cannot admit that there is a single one of them too good to take part in the work. We admit that a small proportion fear the treatment they will receive at the hands of the Irish Parliament. We should do our best, as we have been doing, to allay the fears of this small section. When the bill becomes an act, we shall not cease from the work of conciliating the fears of this section of the Irish people. The Irish bear not the shame and disgrace of those fears. The shame and disgrace belong to the gentlemen and lords belonging to English political parties, who, for the selfish interests of these English political parties, seek to rekindle the almost expiring embers of political and religious rancor. [Home Rule cheers.] Ireland has never injured Mr. Chamberlain. I do not know why he has added the strength of his powerful arm, and why he should have thrown his sword into the scale

against us. He and his kind seek to dash this cup from the lips of the Irish people—the first cup of cold water that has been offered to our nation since the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. This settlement, I believe, will be a final settlement. [Cheers.] The question of the retention of Irish members at Westminster is one which I shall touch upon very slightly. With regard to this matter, I have always desired to keep my mind thoroughly open and not to make a vital question. I have seen the great difficulties rather from your point of view than from ours. I think, when we come to consider the question in committee, these difficulties will grow, but I do not desire, in any sense, to prejudice the question. I admit the existence of a strong sentiment on the part of Liberal members—I will not say it is a very reasonable sentiment—when I consider how many times my colleagues and I have been forcibly ejected, and how, even the necessity of suspending, if not entirely abrogating the representation of Ireland in this House has been eagerly canvassed by the London press as the only solution of the Irish question. This difficult question requires very serious consideration. When Mr. Gladstone has produced his plan, we shall, without binding ourselves beforehand, examine it candidly, with a desire to see in it elements which will not injure the permanency of the settlement. We have gone through it all before, and know the sort of coercion there has been during the last five years. You will require even a severer and more drastic measure of coercion than you have now. You will require everything you have had during the last five years, and more besides. [Home Rule cheers.]

And of what sort has the coercion been? [Renewed Home Rule cheers.] I don't say this to influence passions or embitter animosity, but you have had, during these five years, suspension of habeas corpus in Ireland. A thousand of your fellow-subjects have been imprisoned without specific charges; many for long periods — twenty months — without trial — without any intention to try them. [Cheers.] You have had the right of domicile infringed. At any hour of day or night you have fined the innocent for the guilty; you have taken the power to expel aliens from this country; you have renewed the curfew law and blood money of your Norman conquerors. You have gagged the press, seized and suppressed newspapers, manufactured new crimes and offences, applied fresh penalties unknown to your law — all this, and much more, you have done in the last five years. [Home Rule cheers.] All this, and much more, you will do again. [Loud opposition cheers.] The provision of the bill terminating Irish representation here has been vehemently attacked. Mr. Trevelyan said there was no half-way house between separation and executive autonomy for the Irish people.

I say there is no half-way house between granting legislative autonomy to Ireland and the disenfranchisement and disavowance of that country. But I refuse to believe that those evils will come. I am convinced that there are a sufficient number of members who will disregard the appeal which has been made to their passions, and that when the numbers of the division have been told to-night, it will be known that this Parliament in the nineteenth century was wise, brave,

and generous enough to agree to give peace and happiness to suffering Ireland. [Loud cheers.]

In all his parliamentary career, Mr. Parnell never showed to better advantage than upon this occasion, or gave more convincing proof of the possession of those broad and commanding powers necessary to a great leader. His appearance during the delivery of his speech is thus described by an eye-witness: — "He was unusually pale. He commenced his speech nervously. He afterward followed the lines of his manuscript, which had previously been submitted to and approved by Mr. Sexton. The speech forthwith assumed a higher level, and the orator became very impressive. Every sentence was formed with the greatest accuracy to express certain shades of meaning. Mr. Parnell's face flushed with affection and pride when he exclaimed: 'We cannot surrender a single Irishman!' The concluding appeal for the peace and prosperity of suffering Ireland was delivered in a chord of tender and genuine kindness, different from the Irish leader's usually cold and dispassionate tone."

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach followed Mr. Parnell. He claimed that the bill failed to represent the views of the Liberal party. It was the production of one man — a man who was the highest in this kingdom, but still practically alone, the remainder of the Liberal leaders intending to vote

against the bill. If Mr. Parnell really thought he could obtain from the Conservatives a bill more agreeable to his party than this, why not oppose this? [Laughter.] He denied utterly and categorically that the late Conservative government had any such intention as Mr. Parnell attributed to it.



EDMUND DWYER GRAY.

Mr. Parnell (rising) — Does the gentleman deny that an intention to grant a Parliament and to protect Irish industries was communicated to me by one of his own colleagues, a Minister of the Crown? [Loud Parnellite and Liberal cheers.]

Sir Michael — Yes, I do deny that [cries of "Name!" and "Order!"], to the best of my knowledge and belief. [Ironical cheers.] If such

a statement was communicated, it was without authority from my colleagues. [Laughter and shouts of "Name!" from the Government benches.] Will the gentleman give the name?

Mr. Parnell—The gentleman has asked a question which he knows is a very safe one to ask. [Cries of "Order!"] I shall be glad to name the gentleman when I receive permission from him. [Loud cheers and counter-cheers.]

Sir Michael was unable to proceed, owing to continual shouts of "Name!" "Name!" until the Speaker intervened, when he continued. He said that by the code of honor the gentleman below the gangway stopped at a point where proof was necessary. However, the question before the House was not what the late Conservative government did or what it would have done [cries of "Oh," and laughter], but what the present government had actually done. The bill had been delayed to give wire-pullers time to employ persuasion, intimidation, and abuse, and now the issue was confused. The vote members were asked to give would either be a mischievous farce, or would cast discredit upon the present system of legislation for Ireland. Without expressing an opinion, he asked what should replace it. He hoped the House would not agree to such a dangerous policy. Mr. Parnell's suggestion that the loyal minority might be contented with the two-order system was an extraordinary statement from



one who strongly objected to ex-officio guardians in poor law unions. The minority was practically unanimous in fearing not so much bad legislation resulting from the bill as bad administration. Control could not be given to the majority in Ireland without the risk of injustice to the minor-



T. D. SULLIVAN.

ity far greater than anything possible under any Coercion Act passed by the imperial Parliament. Whatever might be the result of the division, it was certain that the majority of the representatives of Great Britain would oppose the bill. The House had no right to modify the union without the previous consent of the people of Great Britain, who had not yet been consulted. Their

verdict alone could settle the question. He believed their verdict would be a decisive condemnation. There might be dangers in rejecting the bill, but the dangers would vanish with a bold determination to meet their responsibility to maintain the union before the nations of the world.

Mr. Gladstone, who was the next speaker, wound up the debate. He expressed his pleasure at having listened to the masterly exposition by Mr. Parnell, and said : —

I cannot call it less of the member from Cork. [Loud cheers and opposition laughter.] I feel a strong conviction that speeches couched in a tone marked alike by sound statesmanship and far-seeing moderation will never fail to produce a lasting effect upon the minds and convictions of the people of England and Scotland. With respect to the personal question that has arisen between Mr. Parnell and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, I think it no part of my duty to interfere. [Lord Randolph Churchill — “Hear, Hear!”] I shall avoid, in the discussion of this question, as far as I can, all matters of a purely polemical character between party and party. I presume the subject will be carried further. [Parnellite cheers.] I understand a distinct allegation to be made by Mr. Parnell in regard to some person, whose name he has not given, one of a limited body in that limited body. I conclude it will not be difficult to procure if it can be given a denial. I presume a distinct allegation has been made in regard to some person, whose name he does not give. This will open out a matter of public interest; and the gen-

lemen opposite will do me the justice to admit that I have not sought before taking office to make an attack on the conduct they pursue. If they do not like to do me justice, I shall not ask it. Mr. Beach began by stating in series what he succinctly described as simple facts. I will not say that his simple facts are pure fiction. But Mr. Beach declares, though I do not see that it has much to do with the matter, that this is the bill of one man. Well, I am amazed to hear my opponents speak as if they had been at my elbow all day every day throughout the winter. [Cheers.] Mr. Chamberlain could only speak within the compass of his knowledge, and if he said it was a bill of one man, he would know no more about it than a member opposite. But, sir, long before that time the leading details of the bill had been a matter of anxious consideration between me and my nearest political friends. The noble lord's arithmetic is still more defective. A party of three hundred and twenty-five is, I apprehend, by eighty-five votes larger than a party of two hundred and fifty. [Renewed laughter.] Then the right honorable gentleman says that, excepting one point, the customs and excise duties, no change was made in the bill after it was first submitted to the cabinet. He has no means of knowing that, if it were true, and it happens to be entirely untrue. [Loud laughter.] This is a matter of great importance, though it is one that has never been seen by Mr. Chamberlain. Mr. Chamberlain took exception to certain provisions of the bill, without being acquainted with the whole case. That is a fact. Mr. Beach is entirely wrong also in this one of his simple facts. Then, Mr. Beach says that I announced to the House

that the bill was not to be reconstructed. I said nothing of the kind. [Cries of "Oh, oh," and cheers.] I announced that I had not promised that it should be reconstructed, and there are gentlemen opposite who think it a matter of laughter [cries of "Oh, Oh"], who see no distinction between promising that the bill shall not be reconstructed and not having promised that it shall be reconstructed. [Laughter.] A person who has promised that a bill shall be reconstructed is bound to reconstruct it [cheers]; and is that true? [Liberal cheers.] A person who has not promised is free to reconstruct it without promising. [Cheers.] I am glad to see that the laughter of the opposition has now ceased. [Cheers and laughter.] Well, sir, I cannot help observing that I was struck with an observation of Mr. Beach. He says the bill will be rejected, whatever else happens, by the votes of a majority of the English and Scotch members. [Opposition cheers.] Well, Sir Michael talks about dissolution, and I am glad to find that upon that point he and I are more nearly associated than upon almost any other point of this controversy. [Loud ministerial cheers.] After what Mr. Beach has said, and the acquaintance he has shown with the history of the bill, and after all that was said by Mr. Goschen, I must again refer to the exact position in which some of the members stand with regard to the bill. In the first place, I take it to be absolutely beyond dispute, upon broad, high parliamentary grounds, that that which is to be voted upon to-night is the principle of the bill as distinct from the particulars of the bill. [Cheers.] What may be the principle of the bill I grant that I have no authority to determine; but it is our duty to

give our own construction of the principle of the bill. I think I drew a confirmation of construction from the speech of Mr. Beach, because he himself said that this was a bill for the purpose of establishing a legislative body in Ireland for the management of Irish affairs. I apprehend it to be beyond all question that the members voting for the principle of the bill are entirely and absolutely free [cheers]; and that if they think there is any set of provisions by means of which a better and fuller effect may be given to the principle of the bill, they are at liberty to displace all the details. [Cheers.] That doesn't admit of doubt. Well, the Government have taken certain engagements. They have taken an engagement as to taxation for the intervention of the Irish members, to the terms of which I need not now refer. They have also broken an engagement on the claim of Ireland to continued concern through her members in the treatment of imperial subjects generally; and that has entailed a positive pledge to reconstruct, if we do not entirely remove, the twenty-fourth clause, and adopt other consequential amendments connected with it. One more question has been raised with respect to other amendments to the bill. Of course, as to the freedom of members to suggest other amendments, I say nothing; but in reference to our duty there can be no question at all that our duty, if an interval is granted us, if the circumstances of the present session require the withdrawal of the bill, if it is to be re-introduced with amendments at an early date in the autumn, of course it is our duty to amend our bill with every real amendment, every real improvement, with whatever is calculated to make it more effective and

acceptable. [Cheers.] For the attainment of its end we are perfectly free to deal with them; but it would be the meanest, basest act on the part of the Government to pretend that they have a plan of reconstruction ready beforehand, cut and dried in their minds, at a time when, from the very nature of the cause, it must be obvious that it is perfectly clear there can be no such thing, sir. [Cheers.] So much, then, for the system and freedom of the members opposed to the bill. It is the duty of the Government to consider their amendments and do everything they can with a view to a fuller and better application of the bill, and to add to those fine grounds which have on a former occasion been so clearly explained, and from which there is no intention in any sense to recede. Mr. Beach has said that the question of Ulster is a question of principle. But I must say that, with regard to the sentiments we have heard expressed on the subject, I cannot say that any plan for the treatment of Ulster has made any serious or practical effect upon Major Saunderson, who is supposed to favor the separation of Ulster from the rest of Ireland. [Cheers.] I must say that Mr. Parnell has entered into a careful and elaborate argument on the subject of "Ulster land," dealing with her as a separate part of Ireland in the course of this evening's debate, and I must say that that was a statement which requires an answer. [Cheers.]

Now, sir, I want to say one word on the subject of Irish loyalists, and in debates of this kind we have at times to use words and expressions that it is well should be a little better understood than they are. When I hear a speech from Mr. Johnston, and some

others, it always appears to me that he is under the pious conviction that loyalty is innate in Irish Protestants, and disloyalty innate in some other persons. [Laughter.] I do believe that Mr. Johnston is under the impression that in all times in long generations of Irish history there has been this difference between persons who are Protestants and those who are not Protestants. [Cheers.] No; well, it is a charge which has been made, and ought to be met. Has Mr. Johnston inquired what was the state of loyalty in Ireland at the close of the eighteenth century? As regards Roman Catholics, they had then hardly been born into political life. In his time, Dean Swift spoke of their incapacity for politics, and it would be absurd to speak of them then as being either loyal or disloyal. But as to the condition of Catholics at the close of the last century, I will read what Burke has said on the subject. The date of it is 1796. It is taken from a letter to Wyndham. He speaks on the subject of disaffection, and writes thus: "Disaffection has cast deep roots in the principles and habits of the majority of the lower and middle classes of the whole Protestant part of Ireland. [Parnellite laughter.] The Catholics who are intermingled with them are more or less tainted." What has happened since the Protestants, not having grievances to complain of, became loyal, provoked, as all men easily may be, out of their principles. These are words and ideas which show what is the way in which we are to promote loyalty, and what is the way in which we can destroy it.

Another subject upon which I will only dwell for a moment is that of federation. Many gentlemen in the House are greatly enamored of this idea, and the

object they have in view is a noble one. I will not admit to Mr. Beach the justice of the disparagement he casts upon the British empire. I do not consider that she is a loosely compacted empire; but I admit that if means can be devised for establishing a more active connection with our distant possessions, that is an object well worthy of every noble, enlightened man. It is a popular idea. I gave no opinion upon it. I suspect it is beset with more difficulties than have yet been examined and brought to light. But what I wish to observe, as far as this bill is concerned, is that this bill, whatever its rights or wrongs in other respects, is unquestionably a step, and an important step, in the direction of federation. [Cheers.] The balance of authority seems to have established clearly the elementary proposition that whether this Parliament be the imperial Parliament or not the imperial Parliament, it is possessed, now as before the union and before the time of Grattan's Parliament, of a supremacy which is absolute, and, in the nature of things, inalienable. It could not part with it if it would, and it would not if it could. [Cheers.] It is quite true that in constituting a Legislature in Ireland we do as we did when we constituted a Legislature in Canada and Australia, namely, devolve an important portion of power. We devolved it with the view in Canada, and I hope we shall do it in Ireland, not to establish a partial and a nominal, but a real and practical independent management of her own affairs. [Cheers.] That is the right which our opponents object to, and that is the thing we desire, and hope, and mean to do. It is obvious that the question may be raised, How do you propose to deal with questions that



may arise, when the Imperial Government, notwithstanding this general division of affairs, may be by the obligations of imperial rulers compelled to intervene? Well, my answer is that this question has received a far better solution from practical politics, from the experience of the last forty or fifty years, than would ever have been given to it by the definitions of a lawyer, however eminent. When the Canadian Legislature was founded, this difficulty arose. The question arose regarding the Canadian rebellion, and I myself and Lord Brougham were of the opinion, I know not whether we were right or wrong, that the honor of the Crown had been invaded by a proposition to grant in Canada a vote for losses in the rebellion, to those who had been rebels and had incurred these losses as rebels. Lord Brougham made a motion in the House of Lords in 1849, and I made a motion in the House of Commons on the same subject. The important part of the debate consisted in the declarations drawn from the ministers of the Crown, and Lord John Russell then laid down what I conceive to be a live and sound doctrine, in terms which I believe may be fairly described as authoritative, on the manner of dealing with this question. You will, however, allow me to read the passage, which is not a long one. Speaking in this House on the 14th of June, 1849, Lord Russell said, "I entirely agree with the right honorable gentleman. It is, indeed, in conformity with the sentiments I expressed in a despatch I wrote a few years ago, that there are cases which must be left to the decision of the responsible ministers of the Crown. There are cases where the honor of the Crown and the safety of the country are concerned, and in such cases

it requires the utmost temper in the colonies, and the utmost temper and firmness in this country. I fully admit that there are such cases. When the right honorable gentleman goes on to say that Earl Elgin has received some instructions from the Government of this country, by which he is debarred from asking the advice and direction of the Crown on questions that affect the imperial policy and national honor, he is entirely mistaken in that assumption." That justly and practically sets forth the practical mode in which this question, difficult in the abstract, will be settled as it has been settled. We have found it easy to reconcile the rights of Canada with the rights of the Imperial Parliament. It will be found not more difficult to reconcile the rights of Ireland with those of the Imperial Government. Constantly I hear the words "unionists" and "separatists," but what I want to know is, who are the unionists? [Cheers.] And who are the separatists? I see this bill in newspapers of great circulation, and elsewhere, described as the "separation bill." [Cheers.] Members of the opposition adopt that style and make the description their own. I take no notice of these cheers. I speak of other quarters out of doors. Speaking of this description alone, I say it is the merest slang of vulgar controversy. [Cheers.] You think this bill tends to separation. Your argument and even your prejudices are worthy of all consideration and respect. But is it a fair, rational mode of conducting a controversy to attach these hard names to measures on which we differ, on which we argue, and desire to convince by argument. I will illustrate what I mean. I will go back to the time of Lord Grey's Reform Act. When

that bill was introduced, it was honestly believed by the great masses of intelligent men that the bill absolutely involved the destruction of the monarchy. The Duke of Wellington propounded a doctrine very much to that effect, but I doubt if any one of these gentlemen or the newspapers that supported them, ever descended so low in the weapon of their warfare as to brand it "the monarchy destruction bill." [Cheers.] This is begging the question. I might make a very large demand on your patience and indulgence, for we consciously think there are unionists and disunionists, but we conscientiously think our conduct tends to union. [Cheers and laughter.] This involves a very large and deep historical question. Let us try for a few minutes to look at it historically. The arguments made from the other side appear to me to rest in their principle, in the main, upon two suppositions, one the idea of the profound original depravity or incompetence of the Irish people. But there is another; it is the conscientious conviction of the gentlemen opposite, that when two countries, associated but not incorporated with each other, are in disturbed relations with each other, the remedy is to create an absolute legislative incorporation. That, I believe, is the doctrine on their side of the House, and they believe the dissolution of such incorporations is clearly the move to bring about a dissolution of the political relations between these two countries. [Opposition cheers.] I do not deny that where there is a legislative incorporation under the same crown, where that crown is absolute, such a dissolution may be the means of constituting a great country, as it was in the case of France. But what I say is that the true belief, as

proved by history, is this, that when there are disturbed relations between countries that are politically associated, but not incorporated, the real remedy is to make provision for civil independence subject to imperial unity. [Cheers.] Gentlemen spoke of tightening the tie between this country and Ireland, but tightening is not always the way to make it binding; relaxing it is often the way to make it stronger and make it stand a stronger strain. [Cheers.] It is true, as was said by Mr. Cowen, that the severance of legislatures has often been the union of countries, and the union of legislatures the severance of countries. [Cheers.] Can you give me a single instance, from all your historical inquiries — and I wish they had been wider — where an acknowledgment of local self-government has been followed by the severance of countries? [A voice — “Turkey.”] I was just going to refer to Servia, and admit that where a third power has intervened, and given liberty to the subordinate state in defiance of the superior power, I make no claim; and if you are to wait till a third power intervenes in the case of Ireland [government and Parnellite cheers] as they intervened in the case of America, —

Mr. Ashmead Bartlett — We are not afraid.

Mr. Gladstone — I never asked the member whether he was afraid. [Laughter.] It does not matter very much whether he is or not. [Renewed laughter.] I should like him, however, to cultivate a little of that early and provident fear which, in the language of Burke, is the “mother of safety.” I admit that, in cases such as when France and Spain interfered in the case of America, you can expect nothing but severance, and severance with hostile feelings on both sides.

["Hear, Hear."] But that is not the case before us. I ask, for instance, where, apart from the intervention by force of a third power, the acknowledgment of local independence has been followed by severance? [Cheers.] I am in the recollection of every one, and I will show where severance did follow. In the case of Belgium and Holland, the attempts to make the Belgians conform to the ways, conditions, and institutions of Holland led to the severance. In the case of Denmark and the duchies, attempts to do what the gentlemen opposite wish to do in Ireland, namely, to force Danish institutions and ideas upon the duchies, together with an insufficient acknowledgment of their ancient institutions, ended in the total loss of the duchies to Denmark. They are now severed, and incorporated in another political connection. But let us not look simply at the negative side. Where local independence has been acknowledged and legislative severance given, in a number of cases it has been made practicable to hold countries together which would not have been so held. The honorable member opposite has imprudently interrupted me by calling out "Turkey." I will tell him that in the case of Turkey, with its imperfect organization, where there has not been a violent interference and the matter has not been driven to the point of foreign interference, local autonomy has been tried, with the best effects. In the case of Crete, which nearly twenty years appeared lost to Turkey, the lessening of the ties at Constantinople has immensely improved the relations between the two. There is no renewal of rebellion.

Churchill — There is a chronic revolution.

Gladstone — Chronic revolution! Give me a test of chronic revolution. Has Crete paid its tribute? Has it called for the armed forces of Turkey to put down revolution? [Cries of "Yes" and "Order."] I will take another case. Take Lebanon. About twenty-three or twenty-four years ago, Lebanon was in a state of chronic revolution under the absolute sway of Constantinople. It was then placed under a system of practically local independence, and from that day to this it has never resumed its former condition. Still more remarkable is the case of the island of Samos. It has enjoyed for a long time complete autonomy and is now in a state of attachment to the Turkish Empire, while contentment with any political ties subsists and holds that country in tranquillity [cheers], so that even Turkey bears testimony to the principle of which I speak. There are numbers of other instances. There are Norway and Sweden. This is most remarkable because those are two countries which are completely separated, and yet a connection or union has been found practicable only by means of the largest autonomy and independence. The case of Denmark and Iceland [Opposition laughter] — Laughter is a very common weapon, and it is very difficult for me to contend with it. If it had been twenty or thirty or forty years ago, I could have contended with this interruption more easily. [Loud cheers.] If, as has been said, the Parliament of Iceland has been dissolved, it has been dissolved because there have been difficulties in Iceland. There have been difficulties between the Parliament of Iceland and the Crown of Denmark, but the Crown of Denmark is, unhappily, in difficulties with the legislative body of Denmark.

But between the Legislature of Denmark and the Legislature of Iceland there has been no difficulty whatever. But when a speaker quoted Iceland, the gentlemen on the opposite side, with their usual mode of rebuke, laughed, and some one, I think, endeavoring to dignify the laughter with an idea, called out; "Iceland is so distant." If Iceland is so distant, I apprehend that makes it a great deal more difficult for Denmark to hold her down by force, and consequently much more necessary for Denmark to choose the method best in itself for securing order. But if you object on account of distance, what do you say of the case of Finland? Is Finland distant from Russia? Are you aware that the social and political difficulties which have so often threatened the peace of Russia, and been fatal to the life, not many years ago, of one of the worthiest and best of sovereigns, had no place in Finland. And why? Because Finland has a perfect autonomy—the management of its own affairs, the preservation of its own institutions, which has given a contentment to Finland which might be envied in many better nations and most famous parts of the world. I must say a word regarding the case of Canada, because it is so remarkable; because, notwithstanding a multitude of circumstantial differences between Canada and Great Britain, yet still the resemblances in principle are so profound, so significant.

The House then proceeded to a division, and the motion for a second reading was rejected by a vote of 341 against 311. The scene, says Mr. T. P. O'Connor, was one of the most intense excitement, such as the oldest members could not

remember to have witnessed before. The Tory-Whig-Radical coalition frantically waved their hats and handkerchiefs and jumped upon the benches, shouting and gesticulating wildly. The Nationalists, after a pause, followed their example and gave three rousing cheers for "the Grand Old Man," and a succession of unearthly groans and shouts of "Judas" for Chamberlain, which were taken up and repeated as the news spread like wildfire through the lobbies and halls to the outside, where an immense multitude had gathered, awaiting the announcement of the vote. Among the crowds were great numbers of Irish from all parts of the country in a condition of irrepressible excitement. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell sat quiet and composed through all the clamor, as though they had fully expected the defeat as the first step in a long and arduous struggle, and were perfectly prepared for the renewal of the contest at the proper moment. When the noise had subsided somewhat, Mr. Gladstone arose and moved an adjournment of the House until the 10th, to enable the ministers to decide upon their future action. So ended the first real, honest effort ever made by an English statesman for a comprehensive redress of Ireland's grievances.

To the Parnellites and to Irishmen generally the vote of the 7th of June, 1886, will ever be memorable, for, although adverse, it was still fraught with the brightest auguries for future



success. Indeed, they regarded the large vote for the bill as a triumphant vindication of the moral question raised by Mr. Gladstone, and they saw good cause for elation in the fact that two hundred and twenty-five representatives of the brain and conscience of Great Britain had declared themselves in favor of the restoration to the Irish nation of the native Parliament of which it had been despoiled by the Act of Union. They had lost the victory of the moment, it is true, but the victory of the future, broader and grander, had been assured to them by the defeat.

The result of the division may be briefly resolved into this: It delayed the concession, but re-established the principle of Irish nationality—it defeated Mr. Gladstone's measure, but made Home Rule for Ireland inevitable.

During the short recess of the House an interesting controversy occurred between Mr. Parnell and Lord Carnarvon. In his great speech Mr. Parnell had stated that overtures had been made to him by a member of the late Tory government relating to the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin, invested with power to protect Irish industries. It will be remembered that Sir Michael Hicks-Beach denied the truth of this statement and demanded the name of the minister, which demand elicited from Mr. Parnell the reply that he would be glad to name the gentleman when he received permission from him to do so.

It seems that Lord Carnarvon was the minister in question, and he took occasion to absolve the Irish leader from the obligations of secrecy in a speech which he made in the House of Lords shortly after the Home Rule debate. In this speech he admitted that he had an interview with Parnell, but he claimed that Parnell had sought the interview, and that he, at the outset, had given Mr. Parnell to understand distinctly that in all he said he was speaking only in his personal capacity and not as a minister of the Crown.

To this speech Mr. Parnell replied in a letter to the newspapers giving a detailed explanation of all the circumstances attending the interview, as follows : —

Sir, my reference in the House of Commons on Monday, explanatory of reasons which induced passages in my speech at Wicklow last year regarding protection, has called from Lord Carnarvon a lengthy explanation regarding my interview with him in July, as to which he makes certain positive, but chiefly a series of negative, statements.

It will, I think, be now generally considered desirable that some positive information be given to the public regarding details of that interview, that deficiencies left by Lord Carnarvon should be supplemented, and that I should say how far my recollection coincides with him.

But first it will be convenient I should recall to mind reference which I made on Monday to my Wicklow speech as to which controversy, at first with

Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and now with Lord Carnarvon, has arisen.

It was as follows: That speech at Wicklow about protection was delivered at a time when I had every reason to believe that the Conservative party, if they should have been successful at the polls, would have offered Ireland a statutory legislature with the right to protect her own industries, and that this could have been coupled with a settlement of the land question on the basis of purchase on a larger scale than that now proposed by the Prime Minister.

What I have now to tell concerning the interview of July will, I think, be held to fully justify that reference. I regret that I am obliged to commence the recital by differing with Lord Carnarvon point-blank as to a matter of fact.

He says in his explanation that towards the end of last July it was intimated to him that if he were willing I should also be willing to meet him in conversation; in other words, that I sought an interview. Now, this I positively deny.

As a matter of fact, the meeting was brought about by an intimation being conveyed to me exactly converse to that which Lord Carnarvon alleges was conveyed to him in this connection.

I may mention that Lord Carnarvon originally proposed that I should meet him at the house of a gentleman now a prominent Conservative member of Parliament, who subsequently undertook a mission to Ireland and obtained letters of introduction to several leading members of the Irish parliamentary party, with whom he discussed in detail the species of Irish Parliament that would be acceptable to Ireland. I

declined, however, to meet Lord Carnarvon at the house of a stranger, and suggested that if the interview was to take place at all, it had best be at his own residence.

I must also take issue regarding the correctness of Lord Carnarvon's memory as to two of the three conditions which he alleges he stated to me as the condition upon which he could enter into any conversation with me, namely, that first of all he was acting of himself, by himself, and that the responsibility was his and communications were from himself alone; and, secondly, that he was there as the Queen's servant, and that he would neither hear nor say one word that was inconsistent with the union of the two countries, and that I assented to these conditions.

Now, Lord Carnarvon did not lay down any conditions whatever as a preliminary to his entering into conversation with me. It must be manifest that if he had desired to do so he would have intimated them when requesting the interview. He certainly made no use whatever of terms of the two conditions which I have repeated. There is, however, some foundation for his statement concerning the remaining one, inasmuch as he undoubtedly remarked at the commencement that he hoped I would understand that we were not engaged in making any treaty or bargain whatever.

Lord Carnarvon then proceeded to say that he had sought this interview for the purpose of ascertaining my views regarding—should he call it a constitution for Ireland? But I soon found that he had brought me there in order that he might communicate his views upon this matter, as well as ascertain mine.

I readily opened my mind to him on this subject, and in reply to an inquiry as to a proposal which had

been made to build up a central Legislature upon the foundation of county boards I told him I thought this would be working in the wrong direction, and would not be accepted as a settlement by Ireland; that a central legislative body should be a Parliament in name and in fact, and that to this body should be left the construction of whatever system of local government for the counties might be found necessary.

Lord Carnarvon then assured me that this was his view also, and that he strongly appreciated the importance of giving due weight to the sentiment of the Irish in this matter. He then inquired whether, in my judgment, some plan for constituting a Parliament in Dublin, short of repeal of the union, might not be devised and prove acceptable to Ireland; and he made certain suggestions to this end, taking the colonial model as a basis, which struck me as being the result of much thought and knowledge of the subject.

Then came the reference to protection. We were discussing the general outlines of a plan for constituting a Legislature for Ireland on the colonial model, when I took occasion to remark that protection for certain Irish industries against English and foreign competition would be absolutely necessary, upon which Lord Carnarvon said: "I entirely agree with you, but what a row there will be about it in England!"

At the conclusion of the conversation, which lasted more than an hour, and to which Lord Carnarvon was very much the larger contributor, I left him, believing that I was in complete accord with him regarding the main outlines of a settlement conferring a Legislature upon Ireland.

In conversing with him I dealt with the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, who was responsible for the government of the country. I could not suppose that he would fail to impress the views which he had disclosed to me upon the cabinet, and I have strong reason to believe that he did so impress them, and that they were strongly shared in by more than one important member of that body, and strongly opposed by none.

From information conveyed to me by those who were in communication with Lord Carnarvon after he went to Ireland, I have also ground for supposing that he continued of the same opinions as those which he expressed to me, and that he resigned his office because of our failure to give the Conservative party a majority at the polls, and opposition overwhelming in its character first appeared in the cabinet to his views.

I spoke at Wicklow under the impression of my interview with Lord Carnarvon. I acted subsequently and throughout the general election from the same motive, largely strengthened as I was by subsequent information from other sources. I leave it to the public to judge whether I was warranted in those impressions and beliefs, and will only further say that history will not tell a more disgraceful and unscrupulous volte-face than that executed by the Tory party last January, when they found that our vote was not numerous enough to keep them in office. I feel bound, however, to add that I entirely acquit Lord Carnarvon of responsibility for the tactics of his own party.

Yours obediently,

CHARLES STEWART PARNELL.

This brought out another letter from Lord Carnarvon, in which he said: "I recollect perfectly the circumstances of the interview with Mr. Parnell. I proposed nothing. Mr. Parnell did the bulk of the talking, while I put questions, suggested difficulties, and raised objections for him to answer or explain. He dwelt upon the character and functions of a central Legislature, the necessity of developing Irish industries, etc. I remember his alluding to some kind of protection as necessary to promote Irish industries, to which I replied that, whatever my individual opinion might be in regard to protection, such a proposal must arouse great objections from many classes. I regret that my impression was so different from Mr. Parnell's. I do not wish to impute any unfairness to him. I found him during the conversation frank and straightforward. I only regret that he so greatly misunderstood me. I must re-affirm that I never said anything on these subjects in any wise committing others."

Unfortunately for Lord Carnarvon, Mr. Parnell had convincing corroborative testimony to prove that his version of the affair was the true one. It was through Justin McCarthy, the member for Longford, that the interview was arranged; and that gentleman, in a letter to the *New York Herald*, related the circumstances as follows:—

As the parliamentary battle is over for the present, and the electoral battle is not yet begun, I take advan-

tage of this temporary lull to tell the readers of the *Herald* something about the arrangement between Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Parnell. Mr. Parnell wrote to the papers yesterday, denying that it was he who sought the interview with Lord Carnarvon, and leaving it to be understood that Lord Carnarvon had allowed him to believe that he (Carnarvon) was speaking on behalf of his Government. I wish to tell my story. About the end of last June or the beginning of July, the Conservatives having just come into power, a Conservative who is now, but was not then, in the House of Commons, a friend of Lord Carnarvon and mine, told me that Lord Carnarvon was anxious to be put in communication with Parnell, and asked me would I come and see Carnarvon. I did so, as I thought it wise and statesmanlike of Carnarvon, as the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to break away from the stupid old track of his predecessor, and take counsel with the Irish leaders. I had a long conversation with Carnarvon, and was much struck with the boldness and wisdom of his views. He asked me to explain to him my views and the views of Mr. Parnell as to the nature of Home Rule. I did so, dwelling especially on the fact that no system of mere local boards would ever satisfy the Irish people, and it would be only a waste of time to trouble himself about any such scheme. When I had explained all this fully, he said that, speaking for himself, he would be prepared to go as far toward Home Rule as Parnell or myself. He gave me to understand there were difficulties in the way of some of his colleagues who were not yet educated up to the mark, but I certainly understood from him that an endeavor would be made to complete their education.



We had a long talk on various Irish questions, and I promised to ask Parnell to arrange for an interview with Carnarvon. I saw Parnell, and told him my story. The whole thing was entirely new to him, but, after a short consideration, he determined that he would see Carnarvon. I wrote to Carnarvon, who replied suggesting the time and place of an interview. The place suggested was the house of the friend I have just mentioned, in one of the great fashionable West End squares. Parnell demurred, and said that if there was any talk to be made about all this hereafter, he could not consent to have any appearance of mystery and secrecy about it, and if he was to meet Carnarvon he would go openly to Carnarvon's own house. To this Carnarvon at once agreed, and the interview took place in one of Carnarvon's town houses at the West End. I was not present, and only know what happened there from what Parnell told me, which he has now told the public. My story is important chiefly because it gives the fullest and flattest contradiction to the statement which I regret to think Carnarvon has made, that Parnell sought the interview. The truth is that, when the elections came on and did not give the Tories a majority, even with our help, the Conservative government were afraid to take the jump. Carnarvon, I believe, did his very best, and, failing, resigned his office. I met him in December, after the elections, at a small dinner party, and we had some frank and friendly conversation.

He gave me to understand that nothing was to be hoped for just then from his party. He certainly did not say a word to me which implied that through the whole transaction he had been acting merely for him-

self alone. The whole tenor of what he said seemed to imply quite the contrary, and in what I said to him I took this as a matter of course. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that up to the late elections the leaders of the Conservative government were taking into consideration the wisdom of preparing a Home Rule measure, that it was done under the inspiration of Carnarvon, that he was strongly supported by Lord Randolph Churchill and Lord Ashbourne, then the Irish Lord Chancellor, and that Lord Salisbury was beginning to see his way in it when the elections knocked all their calculations to pieces. If he could have said to their party: "We can give Ireland Home Rule and keep office ourselves," then the education of the party would have been easily accomplished. But to say: "We can prepare a Home Rule scheme, but we are not strong enough to carry it and keep in office," is quite a different thing.

This controversy is only important now as going to show that the late Tory government was willing to concede to Ireland a measure of Home Rule, if the ministers could see their way clear to do so and still keep office, and as proving that the attitude of the Tory party on Mr. Gladstone's measure was not dictated by Tory aversion to the principle of the bill, but solely by party reasons more or less dishonest. As it was, Mr. Parnell had the best of the dispute, and the cause of Ireland profited by the revelations.

When the House of Commons re-assembled, on

the 10th, Mr. Gladstone announced that the ministry had decided to appeal to the constituencies, and that the Queen had sanctioned the decision. No date was set for the dissolution, but the Prime Minister said that the remaining business of the session would be wound up as quickly as possible, and the event would doubtless take place before the end of the month.

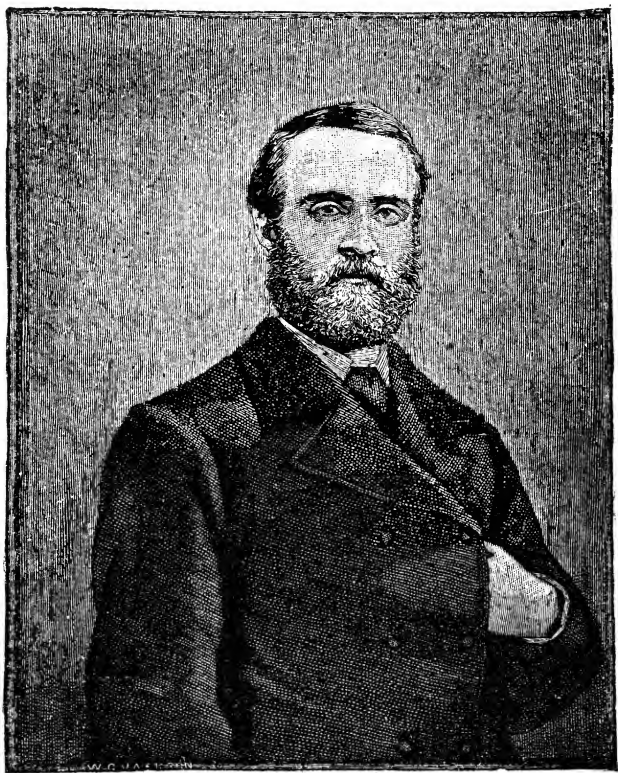
Here, on the eve of what we are convinced will prove a glorious victory for Ireland, we are compelled to bring this history to a close. Mr. Parnell's life-work is yet far from complete accomplishment, but its progress has been rapid and gratifying, and every day that elapses makes the final triumph more certain. Twelve short years ago the Irish leader was absolutely unknown outside of a small circle of immediate friends in Ireland. Now his name is upon every lip, and his character and achievements are the topics of general discussion in two hemispheres. Six years ago he undertook the leadership of a despised agrarian movement which it was predicted would go to pieces in a month or two. He has made of it a power which overawes the mighty British Empire. All the vast resources of England were arrayed against him, but they were impotent against his sleepless, tireless determination and his marvellous sagacity. Neither threats nor jails could daunt his spirit, or break his indomitable will. He was resolved to obtain a hearing and compel

justice to Ireland, and nothing could sever him from his purpose. The bitterest invective and the most enthusiastic adulation found him and left him perfectly unmoved — as stolid and impassive as the Iron Duke himself. Such great abilities and such amazing persistency as he displayed could not for long go unrecognized, and, years ago now, the leaders of the English parties had begun to respect as well as fear him. Mr. Gladstone said of him "no member of the House can say what he has to say more clearly or in fewer words than the member for Cork." Mr. Labouchère declares that "Parnell is one of the very best tacticians that I know," and Lord Salisbury has pronounced him to be "the very coolest head in the Three Kingdoms." His power has had a steady and continual growth: the despised faction which he led has become one of the most influential parties in the House of Commons, and the agitation of which he is the respected head has developed into the greatest human movement of the age.

And now at last his indefatigable energy, his talents for organization, his wonderful perseverance under difficulties, his broad and commanding qualities as a statesman, and his splendid genius for leadership are about to receive an adequate reward. He has obtained a hearing for Ireland's case and coerced England's greatest statesman into an effort to do her justice. The first decision was adverse, it is true; but the defeat was a Bunker

Hill, not a Waterloo. The public opinion of the world is with Ireland and Parnell, and Gladstone and English irrationality cannot long prevail against them. Mr. Gladstone has appealed the case from the prejudices of Parliament to the high court of the people, and he looks forward confidently to a favorable judgment from the democracy of England.

But whether the measure be passed by the next Parliament or one to follow it, Home Rule for Ireland is now assured, — even Lord Hartington admits it, — and the long-suffering Irish race can rejoice in the prospect of once again possessing a happy, prosperous, and independent country, with a government “broad-based upon the people’s will.” To Mr. Parnell more than to any other man — for he has had no rivals in his leadership — the glorious result at hand is due, and Irishmen everywhere gladly accord to him the full meed of honor, and gratitude; and affection, which he merits. His labors and his genius have made the emancipation of a nation possible, and “built himself an everlasting name.”



CHARLES S. PARNELL.

APPENDIX.

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## SOME PARTICULARS OF C. S. PARNELL'S EARLY LIFE.

WE are indebted to Mrs. Delia Parnell, mother of Charles Stewart Parnell, for the following authentic particulars regarding his early career, in addition to those which will be found on an earlier page in the body of our biographical sketch :—

As a child he was remarkable for wit, poetical fancies, sprightliness, and enterprise.

At the age of seven, on the outbreak of the Crimean war, in 1853, he amused his fellow-passengers in the Rathdrum stage, on his way home from school, by comparing the populations and military strength of the various European Powers, with a view to determining their respective chances in the event of a general European war. Some of the passengers remarked that the little fellow had been wonderfully well taught.

In alluding to his early taste for mechanical science as exhibited in his efforts to construct a "perpetual motion" machine, Mrs. Parnell says : "Some danger attended his experiments about perpetual motion ; and when he feared an explo-

sion he would call out to every one to get out of the room, but remain in it near his machine himself." This anecdote of the boy is surely characteristic of the man; for at least on two occasions during the land agitation in the West, at Balla and at Castlerea, when there was imminent prospect of a collision between the armed police and the unarmed people, he displayed a like personal intrepidity and a similar care for the safety of others, flinging himself into the gap of danger, so that the lives of the people should not be imperilled.

Referring to his daring escapade in the effort to make bullets by pouring melted lead from the roof of the mansion of Avondale, Mrs. Parnell remarks: "It was a great undertaking for a small boy safely to lug an iron pot, such as potatoes are boiled in, but filled with hot coals, up two high pairs of stairs, two high ladders, the ascent from the lead valley in the midst of the slated roof to the top of it, and down to the coping around the roof. To this day his enterprises are vast, but with this advantage now—that the greatest enterprises have the greatest opinions, the greatest masses, and the greatest natural forces behind them."

Ampler details concerning Mr. Parnell's school life than we were able to give previously are here appended: "His education, after having been considerably advanced at home, was continued, at



seven years of age, at a small school, Miss Marly's, in Somersetshire, England, where, while eagerly and advantageously pursuing his studies, he fell ill, and lay for weeks almost at the point of death, through typhoid fever. Since then he has never enjoyed the robust health of his childhood, and the illness left an unnatural nervous irritability, which, however, he has conquered. Soon after this illness he was taken back to Ireland, and placed under a private tutor. After this he was sent to the Rev. Mr. Barton's, in Derbyshire, where he again improved greatly under the care and tuition of Mr. and Mrs. Barton, both of them kind and superior people. Mrs. Barton belonged to a celebrated literary family. "I will remark," says Mrs. Parnell, "that particular pains were taken to place Charles with manifestly kind and religious people. Miss Marly was especially so. She was a Dissenter. After his father's death Charles was kept at home under a private tutor, until, at Lady Londonderry's instance, I sent him to the Rev. Mr. Wishaw's, in Oxfordshire, whence he went to Cambridge. Mr. Wishaw was a specially kind, highly educated, and accomplished tutor. All my son's tutors," continues Mrs. Parnell, "expressed a high opinion of Charles' abilities; and the tutors of my three sons reposed a peculiar trust in their honor and steadiness. All three have been remarkable for goodness and tenderness of feeling, industry, patience, and perse-

verance — attributes remarkably derived." The reader of these pages will, we are sure, concur with Mrs. Parnell in deeming those attributes "remarkably derived." Few men had ever more illustrious ancestry.

We get a pleasant glimpse of Charles Stewart Parnell's natural generosity of disposition, as well as of the warmth of Irish feeling which kindly treatment ever evokes, from the following:— "Charles always deprecated any lack of hospitality at his early home, wanting every man and beast that came to it to be entertained; and I found, while I was a widow, that tenants and retainers who needed it while travelling, adopted my house as a home, as in feudal times, while, such was the devotion of the people on our place to us, I thought that did we require it we could raise a corps of defenders among them. Nothing could exceed the faithfulness and unselfishness of our employees."

Another pleasant glimpse — one of family life — is afforded in the appended passage: "My children have always been good and devoted to one another. Charles, in particular, has shown that the child was father to the man; for the energy and devotion he now manifests to his country — to those who need a mighty help — are the outgrowth of his youthful activity and consideration in favor of his family, and of his feeling, just and indulgent judgments, respect, and un-

selfishness towards all who came near him. In these traits, and in his prudence, he resembles his late uncle, my devoted brother, Col. Charles Tudor Stewart, who was perfect as a son, a brother, an uncle, and a friend."

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## II.

### FURTHER PARTICULARS CONCERNING THE PARNELL FAMILY.

In the *Freeman's Journal* of February 15, 1821, a correspondent who signs himself "C.," and dates from "16 Parliament-street, 12th February, 1821," writes as follows of Mr. C. S. Parnell's grandfather, William Parnell, brother of Sir Henry, and M. P. for county Wicklow, to whom but a passing reference was made in a previous page :—

"Few men in modern times excelled the late William Parnell, Esq., in those virtues which may be beneficially recorded. Descended from an illustrious family, he obtained his first literary instructions under the superintendence of his incorruptible and patriotic father—the late Sir John Parnell, Bart. Passing over the scenes of infancy and early youth, I find Mr. Parnell a distinguished student in the University of Cambridge, excelling in the cultivation of the liberal sciences, unequalled in chaste literature. He returned to his native land at the period of his maturity. The first emotion of his generous and exalted mind was

sorrow for the condition of his country, and his first desire was to remedy some portion of her manifold evils. He could not refer to the situation of his Catholic countrymen in any other terms than those of shame and abhorrence ; neither was he content to linger out his days in inactive and unprofitable sympathy.

“In 1806 he published his excellent work upon the Penal Code affecting the Catholic body, in which he reviewed, with boldness and brilliancy, the bad policy of past ages, and was the first to trace, in a manner becoming an efficient statesman, the cruel and pernicious ramifications of that system.

“In 1807 he sent forth his ‘Apology for the Irish Catholics,’ in which he exhibited in vivid colors the injustice of the imputations made against that body.

“He continued to the latest period of his life the same spirit of friendly exertion, in and out of the senate, to promote their claims, and had nearly completed an invaluable History of the Irish Roman Catholics, enumerating their many grievances and sufferings from the reign of Henry the Eighth to the present period.

“The poorer classes of his countrymen were the dearest objects of his anxious and earnest solicitude. He studied their wants and sustained their interests with a care and devotion almost chivalrous. His kindly heart was deeply grieved by the neglect of education to which the peasantry were exposed, and his earnest labors were daily engaged in endeavors to alleviate the evil.

“Every attempt to educate the poor could claim a participation in his patronage and purse ; and his last effort was to obtain from the Government a grant for the education of the Catholic poor on principles un-

objectionable in theory and practical in application. He found there were objections made to the reading of the Testament unaided by the guidance of any annotations ; his wish was to serve, and not offend, and accordingly, in the true spirit of his comprehensive liberality, he published, at his own expense, five thousand copies of the notes approved of by the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland, to be gratuitously distributed with the New Testament.

“ His forbearance and consideration toward his numerous tenantry obtained a return of attachment the most enviable and animated, the natural result of the excellent qualities of the heart that render the relation of landlord and tenant a reciprocal blessing.

“ Possessing captivating manners, a cultivated mind, and eminent rank and connections, his society was cherished and appreciated by the most exalted ; but his desire was to be useful rather than ornamental, and he manifested the sincerity of that predilection by his deportment through life. He endured the most severe of human afflictions — the loss of a beloved, amiable, and endearing wife — with the resignation that became a Christian, but with a sorrow that would not be discreditable to the most dignified philosophy. Indeed that calamity bore heavily upon him to the last ; but his parental solicitude was only increased, if possible, by the additional duties that devolved upon him.

“ He was a good man in all his courses ; but as a father he excelled almost inimitably. The education of his children occupied a principal portion of his time and thoughts ; these tender orphans, bearing the marks of his care, now furnish living proofs of the excellent qualities of their lamented guide, director, and parent,

“On Friday, the 22nd of December, 1820, he had been occupied with the Right Honorable Secretary for Ireland, in procuring through him a grant of £3,000 annually, to be vested in the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland, for the education of their poor; and that day, on which he had completed the preliminaries to carry his benevolent design into effect, having proved unusually wet, he caught a severe cold that terminated in a malignant fever. He died at the house of his revered and distinguished father-in-law, Colonel Howard, on the 2nd of January, 1824, in the forty-fourth year of his age, being ill but eleven days.

“No man was ever withdrawn from the busy scene of life more beloved, revered, and esteemed by those who were favored with his acquaintance; and few have left behind them more acute lamentations for the departure of generous philanthropy and honored worth. One who valued him in life, pays this inadequate tribute to his memory.”

The two eldest of Mr. C. S. Parnell's brothers have been long dead. One, William Tudor Parnell, fell a victim to bad vaccination, after a long struggle, in his infancy. The other, Hayes Parnell, was a most promising youth. From the age of six or thereabouts he evinced tendencies which afterwards developed into remarkable literary and artistic talent, and he was early noted for patriotism. He wrote both prose and poetry well while still a boy; and in his passion for military and naval life was wont to cover sheets of paper with original battle-scenes, and with plans for construct-

ing the best and swiftest ships. When he wished to ascertain areas, while as yet he was ignorant of the very name of Euclid, he drew, for the sake of accuracy, problems of his own invention. Although a pleurisy carried him off at so youthful an age as fifteen, he had written a "History of Ireland as she is to be," in which he introduced laws of his own framing for her free government.

John Howard Parnell, Mr. C. S. Parnell's elder living brother, who was a Home Rule candidate for the representation of Wicklow County at the general election of 1874, has attained singular success in the growing of peaches on his land in Alabama. He has been mentioned in agricultural periodicals, especially "for having obtained by his skill the best and largest peaches ever grown. Their size is almost incredible." In quality they are said to reach perfection; and the number of them Mr. J. H. Parnell annually produces is astonishing. He was the first to export peaches in good condition from America to Ireland. Of his estate in the county Armagh the corporation of Trinity College is the head landlord. Mrs. Parnell describes him as having more of the physical strength of Sir John Parnell, whom he is said to resemble, than her other sons; and relates of him the following anecdote:—

"When a boy, having received some great provocation, but unwilling to hurt any one weaker than himself, he seized hold of a heavy mahogany old-fashioned arm-

chair, and saying, 'I must hurt something,' smashed it to pieces at one blow on the floor." She sums up his character by saying that he is "full of pity and kindness for every one."

Mr. C. S. Parnell's younger brother, Henry Tudor Parnell, at the very threshold of manhood gave practical effect to the theory of peasant proprietorship by disposing of his estate to those who tilled it. Mrs. Parnell says of him :

"My youngest son, always a hard worker and student, and delicately honorable, showed extraordinary business capacity, immediately on coming of age, in the rearrangement of his property and its sale to his tenants." The name of the estate thus referred to is Clonmore. It furnished the courtesy title of the eldest sons of the Earls of Wicklow.

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### III

#### ADDITIONAL DETAILS REGARDING C. S. PARNELL'S MATERNAL ANCESTRY.

"My grandfather, Charles Stewart," writes Mrs. Parnell, "quartered the royal arms of Scotland, which were on a large quantity of family plate he brought with him to this country ; but at the time of the Revolutionary war, when the distress in this infant country (the United States) was extreme, his widow — who, besides being of



Milesian origin, was still further revolutionized in this land, and being by his death freed from the influence of her semi-Scotch husband and of the little god of love (more potent than blood) — melted down her plate to help suitably to rear her eight children, which was a matter of primary importance. This she did through the urgency of her son-in-law, John MacAuley, father of Admiral MacAuley, of the United States Navy. She was a lady of excellent education, polished manners, superior beauty of face and figure, and strong and unblemished character. All her children prospered, through her kind and yet severe training. Soft as a mother's heart is to her manly boys, she did not hesitate to punish them, particularly for the least breach of truth or chivalry.

"Her son Charles was full of fun, and sometimes of mischief. I remember his telling me how severely his mother punished him for upsetting the stall of an apple-woman — so severely that he never did the like again. I remember hearing that when his dancing master's back was turned he would amuse himself pulling out the peg (the article used in those days) that stopped up his master's barrel of beer. It was from dancing school he ran away to sea. His mother did not contemplate such 'steps' on his part. She had promised his father on his death-bed that his son should never embrace a sea-faring life.

"My father inherited from his parents, and, as I

remember, from his mother certainly, the grace and dignity of his carriage and the charm of his manner and conversation. I remember the delightful stories she told and the sweet songs she sang at ninety-three and later. She never seemed old in any respect. Her husband must have been very attractive to have captivated, when so much older than herself, this charming beauty, and a reputed heiress of fifteen. She blamed some of her family for encouraging her elopement, as they coveted her prospective wealth, and wished to get rid of her. Only to my father, I believe, she mentioned their names, she so disdained their conduct.

"Her husband, Charles Stewart, gave half his fortune to the Revolutionary Government, and so helped to impoverish his family, as they never received any compensation for its surrender. My father, I have been told, gave the ships he owned to the United States Government in the war of 1812 with Great Britain, and received no remuneration beyond what his sword brought him. With similar devotion to a yet poor country, he never urged his claims to large amounts of prize-money, including those for the capture of the *Levant* and several British merchantmen, the latter not mentioned in his life. My grandfather, William Tudor, or Judge Tudor, as he was called, also generously spent a colossal fortune in benefiting individuals, the public of Boston and its

environs. Both sides of my family were wealthy at first, and, for this land then, immensely wealthy. Therefore, but for the traits mentioned, and had they let their means moderately take care of themselves, we would have been among the richest of the rich in this rich country. However, we have been taken care of by a wise Power, and their descendants have never been seen begging their bread. I tell the story that it may point a moral and adorn a tale.

"My father, it was said by English gentlemen visiting this country, had the most fascinating manners of any gentleman in it—a wide assertion; for none, in old grand grace, urbanity, wit, and intelligence united, not even French noblemen of the *ancien regime*, surpass Southern gentlemen in these States. But my father was descended from Irish gentlemen, under the hollow of whose feet water could run without touching them; from a race that even in the poorest looked to me, a young American nurtured among great men, when I first landed at Kingstown, as one and all, gentlemen at ease, as they lounged about with their hands in their pockets to keep them warm and clean while looking for a job. If it is true that what is bred in the bone will come out in the breeding, the Irish must have drunk, in better days, of congenial Pierian springs, and, for mother-milk, sucked honey from Hybla; for no fustian can disguise, no hardship obliterate, the

keen intellect, the ready wit, the noble composure of their solid substratum, their ancient foundation.

"A brother of Mrs. Segrave (a late resident in the County Wicklow), while he was a midddy in the *Cyane* or *Levant*, was in great terror at false stories told him of American conquerors, which my father noticing, patted the little fellow on the back, and told him to fear nothing. My father also paroled and helped home the crews and officers of those two ships.

"When taking some prizes into Gibraltar he was vexed by Admiral Lord Carysfort's sending an officer to one of them to investigate their business, but the officer in command of said prize threatened to cut the first man down who stepped on board. My father afterwards went to Portsmouth in England to complain of Lord Carysfort's interference, and received an apology from the Admiralty. One of my kindest friends afterwards was the brother of the said Admiral. Granville Leveson, Lord Carysfort, married my late husband's aunt, and I used to fight my father's battles over again with him in a friendly way, though argumentative.

"My father told me that the great mistake of his life had been not valuing my mother as she deserved; that the brilliancy of his career had in a great measure been due to her, and through her sympathies and influences had been destined to be

still better and brighter. She knew Latin and Greek, and besides fluently spoke French, German, Italian, and Spanish. Her performance on the piano was famed in France, England, and America; her oil paintings are still a theme for admiration; and she played the harp exquisitely. Her memory of history in particular was extraordinary, and her eloquence overpowering. A lady said to me, 'Every word that falls from her mouth is a jewel.' Her soul was too great for her means and her sphere. Her exertions to serve others knew no limits. Many owed their comfort, their happiness, their existence to her; for her purposes were never small, her efforts never weary. She was the amanuensis of my father while he was on the Pacific station, and wrote his French and Spanish letters. He said to me, when he was nominated for the Presidency of this country, that had he appreciated my mother's abilities in time she would have had him made President ten years previously, 'for she could do anything she liked.' In every relation of life my mother was a glowing example of every virtue. Her filial devotion was mentioned from the pulpit.

"As I peruse the letters of different members of my family I am struck by their far-sightedness and accuracy of detail and judgment. My mother daily evinced a penetration almost superhuman, and a prevision that seemed prophetic. But as too little attention is often paid to woman's wit,

notwithstanding the familiar phrase of 'mother-wit,' she was often compared to Cassandra at the siege of Troy. I can conceive nothing more painful to human feeling than as a woman to be compelled, like some of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, to cry 'Wo! wo!' and yet remain unheeded; and I believe that life in its struggles, its future, is in tenderness veiled to woman, as a rule; and further, that so she seems meant to typify, to exemplify, the warmth and intelligence, the hope and charity, at whose pure founts the infant man may be nurtured, strengthened, and upheld to surmount the difficulties that chiefly beset the widest sphere of action—from whose purer hands he may depart winged for a double mission, like Mercury, the messenger of the gods. Woman's mission is chiefly to pity, to aid, the feeble and the suffering; and in her sorrow how wide that mission may become! History shows that, for good or evil, often, as is the mother, so is the son; and private life shows too often that as is the mother for nullity, frivolity, or selfishness, so is the son. Many a man who would respond on some angelic mission to Béranger's lines—

“‘Plaignez le peuple, il souffre, et tout grand homme  
Après du peuple est l'envoyé de Dieu’—

has surely felt and acknowledged a mother's sacred influence.

“I am informed that the name Ford is of

purely Milesian origin, and am therefore inclined to think that, as nothing has ever done so, nothing ever will quench the ardor and pertinacity which seem inherent in all my children, the power to struggle and to overcome, and which succeeds in whatever field is open to it — in whatever the hand finds to do. Let us hope it may be accompanied too by the keen vision to see the open door, the rift in the cloud; by the faith to behold, while yet unseen, the blessings that lie buried, but germinating for a greater birth, in the Isle of Saints, the Isle of the West, the isle whose hope, tried and purified as silver in the fire, but undimmed still, awaits the rising sun of prosperity. 'To everything there is a time.' Some one, some side, must tire first; and all efforts, if not relinquished, are by practice made perfect."

The Tudors—the other branch of Charles Stewart Parnell's maternal ancestry—have a history full of interest. They were of Spanish origin, and afterwards settled in Wales, whence divers branches of the family pushed out into positions of prominence, like the line of Tudor sovereigns who swayed the destinies of England so extraordinarily in their day. The first of the family who is known to have appeared on the American shores was a Colonel Tudor, an officer in the British army. In all probability he went there with his regiment, helping to hold the colonies for the British crown. After his death, his

widow, a woman of high spirit, disagreeing with her late husband's relatives, boldly left them, trusting to her own resources, and with her only son John repaired to Boston. Good looks have long been a noted Tudor characteristic. Even Henry the Eighth, before he became bloated and disfigured by sensuality, is said to have had a magnificent presence. The John Tudor mentioned above did not lack the family speciality. He "was noted for his beauty, grace, gentlemanliness, and accomplishments." Probably his widowed mother had been compelled, from want of means, to bring him up in the pinching school of hardship, and that thus he acquired a close-fistedness foreign to the family nature and habits. Certain it is that close he was, notwithstanding his graces of form and manner; so close that he contrived to amass an immense fortune at a time when the British colonies in America, through lack of industries, offered but very meagre opportunities for fortune-building to even the clearest commercial heads. He left a son William in possession of his wealth; and this William Tudor, revolting from the experiences of his early years, and as if in protestation against the niggardliness so long beneath his eyes, spent his money with an absolutely "imperial benevolence and generosity."

William Tudor, who was born at Boston on the 28th March, 1750, studied at Harvard College, and graduated in 1769, was a splendid man,



physically and morally. He had in perfection what was called "the Tudor eye"—"a large, brilliant, dark-blue eye." He possessed at once the extremes of courage and tenderness, and was as unselfish as he was clear-headed. He was a very accomplished man, and a fine writer. In his young manhood he studied law, under the celebrated John Adams; but the study did not ossify his heart. Even while still little more than a boy his chosen friends were among the best and honestest of his contemporaries. While the bloody quarrel of the North American colonies with Great Britain was as yet looming in the distance, William Tudor had for bosom companions only those who might be counted on to take the side of their native country against the foreign crown. One of these intimates was his teacher of legal lore, John Adams, who, having discovered how niggardly John Tudor was in supplying money to his student son, wrote, without the knowledge of the latter, to the former, appealing to him to give William a more liberal allowance, to help his advancement in life. "If your son were infected with the follies and vices so fashionable among many of the young gentlemen of our age and country," urged Adams, "I would never become an advocate for him, without his knowledge, as I now am, with his father. I should think, the more he was restrained, the better. But I know him to have a clear head, and an honest, faithful

heart. He is virtuous, sober, steady, industrious, and constant in his office. He is as frugal as he can be in his rank and class of life, without being mean. It is your peculiar felicity to have a son whose behavior and character are thus deserving."

William Tudor was admitted to the Suffolk bar on the 27th July, 1772. He had but little time to acquire a name before the revolution came. He counted on his list of intimates some of the most distinguished patriots of the day. There could be but one side in the strife for the young lawyer, and that side was his country's. Of course he might have acted the coward's part, and remained neutral; but he had come of a strong and daring race, and with their hot blood surging in his veins he could not stand idle while others were arming for the fray. He made his way to Bunker's Hill, and, as a volunteer, took part in the action. After the retreat of the American insurgents from that hard-fought field, William Tudor joined the army in a regular manner, and served under Generals Lee and Washington. The latter made him his aide-de-camp — a fact which sufficiently attests that he had distinguished himself for bravery and coolness in the hour of peril.

There was a tender and romantic side to William Tudor's nature. At the very time that the insurrection began, and indeed for a considerable period before that, he was ardently attached to a young lady named Delia Jarvis, whose sympathies

were entirely with the royalists. He spent seven years in striving to induce her to accept him. Mrs. Parnell writes of her :—

"She had romantic ideas of feminine character, which she always maintained. Her strongly æsthetic tastes led her to prefer courtly circles, and her gentle, indulgent disposition to deprecate wars, and long for a compromise. Nevertheless she was considered to be a loyalist, and showed considerable spirit as such. For instance, when Boston opinion was all aflame about the tea question she gave a tea-party. Whoever used this herb was considered a foe to the country, and a rigid inquisition and vigilance were maintained to prevent its use. A sprig of tea," Mrs. Parnell continues, "might be our national emblem, for its familiar shape involved then a principle soon to be combated by open war."

The young lady's loyalist feelings, however, did not always go unhurt. In her son William's *Life of Otis* the following passage referring to her occurs :—

"After the battle [of Bunker's Hill], a young person living in Boston, possessed of very keen and generous feelings, bordering a little perhaps on the romantic, as was natural to her age, sex, and lively imagination, finding that many of the wounded [American] troops brought over from the field of action were carried by her residence, mixed a quantity of refreshing beverage, and, with

a female domestic by her side, stood at the door and offered it to the sufferers as they were borne along, burning with fever and parched with thirst. Several of these, grateful for her kindness, gave her, as they thought, consolation, by assuring her of the destruction of [the British]. One young officer said, 'Never mind it, my brave young lady; we have peppered 'em well, depend on it!' Her dearest feelings were thus unintentionally lacerated, while she was pouring oil and wine into their wounds."

Courting this lady under the circumstances was no easy task for one whom, while her sympathies went out to him as a man, her prejudices taught her to regard as a criminal because of his having become "a rebel to his sovereign." Court her, however, and persistently too, he did. He kept up a correspondence with her during the war, as full as opportunity permitted, usually beginning his long letters with "My fair loyalist," and ending them with "Your devoted rebel"—a mode of address calculated to laugh her prejudices away. Nor was he satisfied to confine himself to epistolary pleadings. In spite of dangers and difficulties he contrived to meet her. In Drake's "Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex" the following passage occurs:—

"His courtship of the lady who afterwards became his wife was prosecuted under very romantic circumstances. By the hostilities which had

broken out he was separated from the object of his affections, who was residing on Noddles Island (East Boston), in the family of Henry Howell Williams. The British fleet which lay off the island rendered it dangerous to approach it in a boat. A boyish acquisition was now of use to the gallant colonel. He was an excellent swimmer. Tying his clothes in a bundle on his head, he, like another Leander, swam the strait between the island and the main, paid his visit, and returned the way he came. It is related of Colonel Tudor that when a boy, being on a visit aboard an English line-of-battle ship in Boston harbor, the conversation turned on swimming. Tudor proposed to jump from the taffrail rail — which in ships of that time was at a considerable height from the water — if any one would do the same. A sailor accepted the challenge. The boy took the leap, but the man was afraid to follow."

In the end the colonel's wooing prospered. The most bigoted "fair loyalist" that ever was could not go on for years receiving letters signed "your devoted rebel" from a man to whom she was really attached without suffering a considerable abatement of her devotion to her sovereign. Further, Miss Jarvis had an innate horror of war; and it was but natural that during the colonel's long absence she should torture herself with dreadful imaginings of what might happen to him at any moment. So she put an end to her torments by deserting

from the royalists, and going over to the enemy's camp, joined her life and fortunes with Colonel Tudor's.

Honors showered on Colonel William. He was appointed Judge-Advocate-General of Washington's army, and held a military position equal to that of general. He presided over the courts-martial at Cambridge after Washington's arrival there. In his position of Judge-Advocate-General, his legal training and abilities gave him great advantages over mere military men; and these he employed with success in defence of many an accused one. In especial, a Colonel Henley, who was charged with unmilitary conduct towards British prisoners in his care, had reason to be grateful to the Advocate-General. We read: "Henley owed his acquittal mainly to the exertions of Colonel Tudor in his behalf. The evidence showed that the prisoner had acted under great provocation; but what most influenced the result was the startling testimony adduced of the mutinous spirit prevalent among the British soldiers."

When the war was over, and the colonel's sword sheathed, he returned to Boston, and to the practice of his profession, wherein he achieved a reputation as "an eminent counsellor." He became a member of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, and afterwards of the Senate. He held the high office of Secretary of State in

1809 and 1810. He was appointed Vice-President of the Cincinnati of Massachusetts in 1816, and was one of the founders of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose "Collections" appears an extended memoir of him. He was an elegant and a spirited public speaker, and his talents in this line, as in others, were frequently drawn on by his fellow-citizens of Boston. He paid a visit to Europe and saw the state of Ireland with his own eyes. Mrs. Parnell says of him:—"I have many charming letters of my grandfather, in one of which he forcibly condemns from Ireland the British government there. His letters are a wonderful exemplification of his excellence and attractiveness as a father, son, and husband. He begins one letter to his wife with 'My truest friend;' and ends it, 'I must cease to feel and to reflect ere I cease to love and to admire you.' John Adams and Judge Tudor kept up a long and interesting correspondence—a very valuable one, being especially on political subjects of the day. In John Adams' works, edited by a descendant of his, his letters to Judge Tudor are published." The judge died on the 8th of July, 1819.

"Miss Peabody, the sister of Mrs. Nathaniel Hawthorne, wrote a beautiful account of my grandmother," Mrs. Parnell says. "In it she mentions my grandmother's resolution to do or say something to contribute to the happiness of

each one she daily met; and her learning Spanish at the age of seventy. Through her letters in Spanish she procured from General Tacon the monopoly of the ice-trade in Cuba for her son Frederic. She read, wrote, and mended fine lace, without spectacles, to ninety-two years of age. Her poetry was very fine. One day, my mother, coming in with the *Washington National Intelligencer*, said: 'I have found a rare thing — a fine piece of poetry in the newspaper,' and read out, to my grandmother's surprise, a piece by herself on a Fourth of July oration, by John Quincy Adams, at the Capitol, where several old revolutionary soldiers were present. My mother was delighted to learn that her own mother wrote it. The latter was descended from some of the adventurous Puritans who sought this shelter, and the name Delia was originally Deliverance. She is mentioned in Comte de Segur's memoirs. Her home in Boston, wherein her two beautiful and accomplished daughters did the honors, was the rendezvous of all the French officers stationed near. She addressed some fine verses in French to Marie Antoinette, which were acknowledged by the latter.

"Of her two daughters, Emma married Robert Hallowell Gardiner, of Oaklands, Gardiner, Maine; and Delia married Commodore Charles Stewart, of the United States Navy. Emma had the splendid Tudor eye, and her mother's delicate



complexion, auburn hair, and exquisite figure. Delia, my mother, had the Norman combination of fine, curling, coal-black hair, blue eyes, and a complexion like a tinted rose-leaf. She was tall, and remarkable for fine-cut regular features, symmetry, grace, and a dignity and elegance of carriage that were truly regal."

Besides his two daughters, Judge Tudor left two sons, William and Frederic, both very remarkable men. William, the eldest, had a strongly intellectual bent of nature. While almost an infant he had imbibed his mother's horror of war, and if any one sang in his presence the once popular song, "Oh, what a glorious thing's a battle! drums a-beating, colors flying," he would burst out a-sobbing. Ordinarily, however, he was a bright-witted and lively little boy. When about three years of age he climbed on to the table after a dinner-party, and was engaged in draining the wine-glasses when the black butler of the family discovered him. To disarm the negro's wrath the little fellow seized a glass and cried, "Your health, Mr. Pompey!" so much in the fashion of his elders that the butler did no more than grin. From Blake's and Drake's (American) Biographical Dictionaries the following memoir of William Tudor has been compiled:—

"Tudor, William, scholar and diplomatist, was born at Boston, the 28th of January, 1779. He

graduated at Harvard College with distinguished honor in 1796; and soon after visited Europe for the improvement of his mind. He was an observant traveller, and treasured up for future use a vast and varied fund of information and anecdote. He returned to his native country with an ardent desire for the improvement of his fellow-citizens in arts and literature. He was the projector and first editor of the *North American Review*—the same distinguished periodical in the April 1880 number of which appears his relative Charles Stewart Parnell's splendid paper on the Irish land question—"which *Review* has since become identified with the best literature of our country. In whatever Mr. Tudor undertook he had a single eye to the intellectual advancement of his countrymen. No man in public life was ever more distinguished. When a member of the legislature of Massachusetts, he proposed many plans in aid of his favorite object; but they met with opposition from those who, though they respected his motives, considered him a visionary. Several of his projects have, however, since been accomplished, and in the very manner that he first suggested. For two years he wrote all the first pages of the *North American Review* himself. According to himself, he wrote the whole of the first number, even to the notices, etc., in it. He had previously aided in founding the Anthology Club, publishing his European Letters in their

magazine, the *Monthly Anthology*, begun in November, 1803, continued until 1811, and supported by the best pens in Boston. In November, 1805, he founded the ice-traffic in tropical climes as the agent of his brother Frederic, which has grown to be an important branch of commerce; and he was afterwards engaged in other commercial transactions in Europe, requiring ability and address. Mr. Tudor was the originator of the present Bunker's Hill Monument, and one of the founders of the Boston Athenæum in 1807. In 1823 he was named consul at Lima, Peru; and in 1827 was appointed *charge d'affaires* at the court of Brazil, where he negotiated a treaty, the last of his public works. Mr. Tudor acquired the personal affection of the Emperor, and the respect and admiration of the *corps diplomatique*. His character as a literary man and an accomplished gentleman had preceded him; and it was well observed that his country was honored in such a representative. Besides his contributions to several periodicals, and his critiques in the *North American Review*, he published 'A Discourse before the Humane Society,' 1817; 'Letters on the Eastern States,' 1820; 'Miscellaneous,' 1821; 'Life of James Otis,' 1823; 'Gebel Teir,' 1828. He died at Rio Janeiro, the 9th of March, 1830." He was only in his fifty-fourth year then; and he succumbed to an illness which had its origin a great many years before in an act

of kindly humanity, when, travelling in Germany, and seeing a soldier's wife with her infant on the outside of the coach at night in a storm of rain, he gave his own inside place to the poor woman and child, and took her outside one himself. The climax of his disease was brought about by laborious journeys, on foot as well as on horseback, into the wild and mountainous interior of Brazil. Mrs. Parnell writes of him : —

“Lord Ponsonby, one of his colleagues at the court of Dom Pedro the First, said that such was my uncle William Tudor's humane and judicious advice, and such the influence he exerted over the Emperor, who consulted him on all occasions, that had he lived, the Emperor never would have lost his throne. A succeeding consul told me that my uncle William's beauty and nobility of form and feature made a never-forgotten impression on him. He thought he had never seen any one so handsome. He resembled my mother. This consul also related to me the first act of my uncle on coming aboard the ship where this future consul was — an act which in its simplicity and greatness seemed fitly to accompany his appearance. The mate of the vessel had died on board, leaving his widow and orphaned children at Callao, Peru. My uncle spontaneously and immediately gave them a home in his house, until they could be comfortably sent to their own home and friends. How few consuls thus treat their exiled country-

men ! I remember the terrible grief and desolation of my mother's heart and home when the news of his death reached us at Washington. The diplomatic corps there called to condole with my poor mother. Congress had his very remarkable diplomatic correspondence published—for use and enjoyment both."

Of her uncle, Frederic Tudor, brother of the William above noticed, and whose genius lay more in the commercial line, Mrs. Parnell supplies the information subjoined : —

"Through gigantic endeavors, though often frustrated, he succeeded in restoring his family fortunes and the prestige of the Tudors for wealth. He discovered how to preserve ice for long journeys, and conceived the idea that the chief staple of New England — viz., ice — should be a chief source of profit ; and he gathered a harvest of precious metal from frozen waters. The ice he sent, especially to the East Indies, has preserved many a life. He received specially handsome acknowledgments of his services from the East Indies.

"Some of the agents in the West Indies not at first succeeding, he chartered a vessel, freighted it with ice, and sailed in it himself to the West Indies. I have seen a letter written then by his tender and terrified mother, expressing her fears lest the ice should melt on the voyage and the vessel be capsized. But he went ; and, like the

farmer in the fable, immediately prospered by attending to his business himself.

"He was remarkable for his wit and for his strong character, which made him, while very droll, very incisive in his speech, and very forcible in his views. He had the peculiar beauty of the family then — black hair, blue eyes, a fine figure, a high broad forehead, and regular features. At his fine place at Nahant he made prize peaches grow on a rock just over the sea, and discovered how to prevent them being injured by the salt in the atmosphere while they received the full advantage of the air. His letters are very entertaining. So also are the letters of his sister, my aunt Emma. I remember particularly her poetical expressions; and a line in one of her letters, while I was a child, when, describing a place she was in, she wrote, 'The frogs croak a bass to the whistling wind.'"









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